

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Protests support Indian rights

Hands off Wounded Knee



Armored personnel carriers and federal marshals surround Wounded Knee, S.D. Demonstrators in Cleveland (right) and other cities oppose government threats to invade area occupied by Indian militants. See pages 4-5.

Sisterhood Is International



Militant/Mark Satrioff

International abortion rights meeting in New York pledges to continue struggle. Reports on Int'l Women's Day, pages 9, 11.

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MULTILINGUAL REGISTRATION WON IN N.Y.: On March 12 federal district Judge Charles Stewart Jr. ordered the New York City board of elections and board of education to provide Spanish- and Chinese-language registration materials and translators for the May 1 community school board elections.

This is a significant victory for parents of school children in District 1 and other districts where many parents don't speak English. District 1 community-control forces are supporting candidates for the community school board in opposition to right-wing groups and racist teachers. The court decision resulted from a suit brought by candidates and voters in six school districts and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, a nonpartisan voting-rights group.

Civil rights leaders call spring offensive

The fifth anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4 will signal the start of a "national spring offensive" against the Nixon administration's cut-backs in the areas of health, education, and welfare. The plans for the offensive were announced by the Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), and the Reverend Ralph David Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). "We plan to put this movement back into the streets where it belongs," announced Abernathy at a March 9-10 meeting in Chicago.

In a telephone interview March 14 the Reverend Willie Barrows of Operation PUSH in Chicago explained that the activities being organized around the country would include town meetings, lobbying, hearings, and church services, as well as marches and rallies.

As of this writing the plans for the April 4 actions in New York, Chicago, Atlanta, and other cities, have not yet been announced.

Participating in the planned actions along with the SCLC and Operation PUSH are the National Welfare Rights Organization and a variety of local religious, civic, and civil rights groups. The Congressional Black Caucus, which has also urged opposition to the budget cuts, hosted a March 12 meeting to help organize against them.



Reverend Jesse Jackson

Reverend Ralph Abernathy

Fifteen months ago Jesse Jackson and his supporters left SCLC, which had been founded by Martin Luther King. Speaking in Chicago, Abernathy insisted that "we were never bitter. We have worked together before, and we will continue to work together. And when this is over, Richard Milhous Nixon will be sorry we ever did."

STUDENTS STRIKE OVER FIRING OF PROFESSORS:

More than 200 students at Patterson College in New Jersey met March 13 to finalize plans for a student strike scheduled to begin March 19. The strike, initiated by the All-College Student Committee on Tenure and Retention, was called in response to the arbitrary firing or denial of tenure to 61 teachers at the college.

The students are demanding student-faculty control of hiring, firing, and evaluation of teachers, as well as increased recruitment of Black and Latino faculty, no cuts in financial aid, and an end to the reorganization plan that would end student-faculty voice in running college departments.

The American Federation of Teachers local at Patterson College is supporting the strike and has pledged not to cross the picket lines.

MAGEE TESTIFIES AS DEFENSE ENDS ITS CASE.

"I took my freedom because there was no other recourse," Ruchell Magee testified as the defense brought its case to an end March 12. Michael Schreiber reports from San Francisco that Magee said he joined the Aug. 7, 1970,

escape attempt of several San Quentin prisoners to reveal to the public that he had been framed up and sentenced to life imprisonment for a \$10 theft in 1963. "I was in prison on a lawyer's false plea of guilty," Magee testified. "My attempts to prove my innocence resulted in the state of California suppressing the trial records."

Magee denied he murdered Judge Harold Haley, who was being held hostage in the prisoners' escape van. He maintained Haley was killed by police who fired at the fleeing van.

WOMEN MEET IN NEW YORK: Some 300 women turned out March 3 for a conference on Women and the University sponsored by the City University of New York Women's Coalition. Panels at the conference, which was attended mainly by woman faculty members, discussed the role of higher education in liberating women, prejudice against women in the university, women's studies, and other subjects.

RAP BROWN TRIAL IN EIGHTH WEEK: Fifty prosecution witnesses have testified so far in the trial of Black activist H. Rap Brown and his three codefendants on charges of robbery and attempted murder. Two more are expected to be heard before the prosecution rests its case. Witnesses who have testified have been caught in a number of lies.

Police witnesses have denied beating Brown after he was shot. They claim he was roughed up by a crowd that gathered following the shooting. One cop couldn't remember how he had injured his own right arm and forearm that night.

William Kunstler, Brown's attorney, has accused the police of fabricating the charges, and has stated they used a *New York* magazine article by former Deputy Police Commissioner Robert Daley to "destroy" his client. Daley has been ordered to appear in court, where the defense is expected to call him as a hostile witness.

BLACK ACTIVIST CONVICTED OF ATTEMPTED MURDER:

On March 7 Black Panther Richard "Dhoruba" Moore was convicted of attempted murder in the May 1971 shooting of two policemen. This was the third trial for Moore. His first trial ended in a hung jury, and the second was declared a mistrial for technical reasons.

Testimony during the trial proved the chief prosecution witness had originally told police Moore had not been involved in the shooting. Nonetheless, the all-male jury of two Blacks and 10 whites took only 45 minutes to return its verdict.

Moore, who faces life imprisonment, angrily told Supreme Court Justice Joseph Martinis, "You did everything in your power to deny me a fair trial." Pointing to the jury he continued, "I did not want those men but you gave them to me. . . . Those 12 men convicted me of crimes I did not commit."

Moore was arrested for the shooting shortly after he and twelve other Black Panthers had been acquitted of conspiring to blow up department stores and police stations. During his latest trial the prosecution repeatedly linked him to suspects in the supposed "Black Liberation Army conspiracy" to gun down policemen. Judge Martinis refused to postpone the trial, despite the prejudicial publicity.

'EUGENE V. DEBS SPEAKS': This collection of speeches and articles by the great pioneer of American socialism is reviewed in the Jan. 27 issue of *Labor*, a national paper published by 14 transportation unions. While admitting that the book reproduces speeches of Debs ranging from the 1890s to the 1920s, the union reviewer complains that "the book is selective. It picks out many of the more radical talks and writings of Debs during his years of socialist leadership, but relatively few from the period when he was an active trade unionist."

If you subscribe to The Militant and plan to move soon, don't forget that the post office does not forward newspapers. Send your old address label and your new address into The Militant business office at least two weeks before you move to ensure that you will not miss any issues.

The reality is that Debs participated in his most famous labor activity after he was a socialist, not before. "In any event," concludes the reviewer, "fans of Gene Debs will find fascination in many of the texts reproduced in the book."

Eugene V. Debs Speaks is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. \$6.95 cloth, \$2.95 paper.

—DAVE FRANKEL

French election results

Gaullists hold on despite losses

By TONY THOMAS

The second round of the French parliamentary elections held March 11 showed the retention of a parliamentary majority by the Gaullist-led coalition but significant gains for the Union of the Left, an electoral coalition composed of the Communist and Socialist parties and the Left Radical Movement, a liberal-capitalist party.

Flora Lewis, reporting from Paris in the March 12 *New York Times*, reported that in 483 districts the



Francois Mitterrand

Union of the Left captured 178 seats to 271 for the Gaullist-led coalition. The Gaullist majority thus retained control of the French National Assembly and has the necessary votes to elect a premier and a cabinet.

Lewis reported that the CP received 73 seats, while the SP and the Left Radicals received a combined total of 105 seats. A liberal-capitalist "centrist" coalition led by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber and Jean Lecanuet received 28 seats in the assembly. Three seats were won by the left social-dem-

ocrats of the United Socialist Party, and three seats were attributed to the "far right."

Lewis and other observers in the U.S. press attributed the scope of the victory of the Gaullist coalition, which has ruled France since 1958, to the anti-Communist campaign whipped up by the Gaullists in the week following the March 4 first-round elections. The day before the voting, after the "official" close of television campaigning, Gaullist leader and French President Georges Pompidou announced on television that French voters had a "simple choice of Marxist Communism" or freedom.

Jonathan Randal in the March 12 *Washington Post* reported that "crucial to the leftist union's defeat were the roughly 3 million voters who backed the centrists in the first round, then swung behind the pro-government parties today after many of their own candidates were withdrawn."

One of the most heartening developments of the French elections was the strengthened showing by the "far-left" candidates of the Communist League (French section of the Fourth International) and the Workers Struggle (Lutte Ouvrière) organization.

Henri Weber, reporting in the March 9 issue of *Rouge*, the Communist League's weekly, reported on the 261-district first round campaign of the two groups:

"Despite . . . unfavorable conditions, more than 300,000 workers have answered the call of the League and LO [Workers Struggle]: 'On the first round, show your opposition to the regime, your defiance to the Union of the Left, your determination to solve the question of power by meth-

ods of class struggle.'

"The average tally of the revolutionary candidates, oscillating around 2 percent, is an advance in relation to that gained by Alain Krivine [the League's presidential candidate] in the 1969 presidential elections (1 percent). . . . candidates of the League received 5.51 percent of the vote in Sedan, 3.3 percent in Chelles, 3.39 in Caen, 3.52 in the first electoral district of Strasbourg, 3.36 in the first of Pottiers, 3.28 in the second of Tours, 2.8 in the second of Lyon, 2.6 in the second of Toulouse and in the first of Montpellier, etc. . . .



Georges Pompidou

"The candidates of 'Workers Struggle' received 4 percent of the votes in Chartres, 4.17 at Issoudun, 3.6 at Rochefort, 2.92 at Thionville, 3 percent at Douai and at Hénin-Liétard, 4 at Thiers, 3.3 at Meaux and at Montereau, 2.18 at Orly, etc. . . ."

According to Weber, a large section of the votes for the Communist League and Workers Struggle came from working-class districts.

Picket lines support political prisoners

Repression in Argentina denounced

NEW YORK, March 10—Protesters confronted Argentine Consul General Rafael Vázquez here March 8 to express their opposition to the military repression of dissidents in his country. The meeting with Vázquez was part of a series of protests around the country in support of freedom for Argentine political prisoners. The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) initiated the actions, which coincide with the Argentine general elections.



Militant/Bill Hutton

Pickets protest Argentine repression in front of IBM building in Philadelphia.

New York demonstrators picketed in front of Aerolineas Argentinas and then marched to the Argentine consulate. There a delegation met with Vázquez.

"Argentina compares with the best countries in the world," he insisted, in response to questions about the lack of democratic rights in Argentina. He refused to confirm or deny evidence presented him on the abduction of Angel Brandazza, a Peronist student and opponent of the Lanusse regime, or to comment on the case of Norma Morello, a teacher and organizer of Catholic Action, who was arrested, held for five months, and tortured.

The delegation that confronted Vázquez included Father Adrian, a representative of the Committee for the Defense of the Democratic Rights of the Haitian People; José Peguero from the Revolutionary Student Union, a Dominican group; Frank Grinnon and Selva Nebbia from USLA; and Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York.

Other organizations sending representatives to the picket line included the Coalición de Latinoamericanos y Amigos de Latinoamérica (Coalition of Latin Americans and Friends of Latin America); Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth), U.S. branch; Young Socialist Alliance; Young Workers Liberation League; Comité pro Defensa de Los Derechos Humanos en la República Dominicana (Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Dominican Republic); Youth Against War and Fascism; and others. More than 30 groups in all

endorsed the action.

Protests also took place in 11 other cities. Demonstrators picketed the Argentine embassy in Washington, D.C., March 8, after presenting a statement of protest to a representative of the Argentine ambassador.

A Philadelphia picket line outside the IBM offices March 8 denounced U.S. complicity with the military dictatorship. IBM has large holdings in Argentina.

Other March 8 actions included picket lines at the federal buildings in Detroit and Atlanta, at the federal court house in Denver, and in Boston, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.

On March 9, USLA supporters and the Militant Labor Forum in Minneapolis held a protest meeting on the repression in Argentina.

Portland USLA activists picketed the World Trade Building March 10.

In another important development, former Maryknoll nun Mary Elizabeth Harding has agreed to go on a national speaking tour for USLA from April 6 to mid-May.

Harding was arrested and tortured by the Banzer regime in Bolivia last December, based on accusations that she had connections with a "subversive" organization. She won release and was deported to the U.S. only after international protest.

Harding will speak on the situation in Bolivia and the U.S. government's complicity with Banzer's repression. For more information, contact USLA, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

Peronist elected in Argentina; situation unstable

BUENOS AIRES, March 12—The Peronist movement, organized in the Frente Justicialista de Liberación [FREJULI-Liberation Front for Social Justice], scored a notable victory in yesterday's elections. With some 10,000 precincts out of 54,529 still to be accounted for, the vote for Héctor Cámpora, the Peronist candidate for president, now stands at 6,235,528.

This compares with 2,718,023 for Ricardo Balbin, the candidate of the Unión Cívica Radical [UCR—Radical Civic Union], who was favored by the Lanusse military dictatorship.

The vote for Juan Carlos Coral and Nora Clapponi, the presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [PST—Socialist Workers Party], has been listed as 95,598. Both Coral and Clapponi protested irregularities in the election, such as absence of PST ballots in key working-class districts.

The voting was running unusually heavy even for Argentina, where it is compulsory to vote. The casting of blank ballots—in contrast to most elections since 1955, when Perón was toppled—was very low, standing as of now at only 118,000 for the country as a whole. At this writing it appears doubtful that a second round will be held for the presidential elections, since the Peronist vote is now 48.7 percent and likely to go above 50 percent when the final returns are in. A second round would almost certainly end with the Peronists holding a two-thirds majority or more.

The military regime displayed glumness over the outcome of the elections. Even though it had been expected that the Peronists would take the lead over other formations, the size of the lead seems to have astonished the military.

In the far left there is considerable speculation over the possible reaction in Argentina's ruling circles. The most likely alternatives are either another military coup d'état to prevent the Peronists from taking office, or an attempt to divert the masses through an Argentine version of the Allende ploy in Chile.

If government power is turned over to the Peronist command, the masses will certainly expect substantial concessions. In view of Argentina's rickety capitalist structure, concessions on the scale required are excluded. The consequences would be sharp rise in mass discontent and the erosion of the popularity of Peronism, making it still more difficult to maintain capitalist rule.

If, on the other hand, the military should attempt a new coup in the coming weeks, this could prove to be even more dangerous. The brutal frustration of expectations aroused by the Peronist victory in the elections could touch off demonstrations of extraordinary fury on a nationwide scale.

The top generals are to meet in a few days to weigh the political situation in the aftermath of the elections. No doubt they will all agree that a stormy period lies ahead for Argentine capitalism. They may find it more difficult to reach agreement on what to do about it.

Gov't siege continues

By SKIP BALL

PINE RIDGE RESERVATION, S.D., March 14 — M-16-toting FBI agents again block the roads to Wounded Knee, and armored personnel carriers patrol the fields around the area. Fuel, electricity, and telephone service have been cut off in the latest government attempts to starve out the occupants of this blizzard-besieged village.

In the nineteenth century it took the government a few months or years to violate its peace treaties with Indians. But it took just one day to violate its March 10 agreement to withdraw its guns, agents, and roadblocks from around Wounded Knee.

On March 11, the FBI opened fire on an Indian security van. In the ensuing gunfire one of the agents was wounded. Earlier the same day, four men armed with 38-caliber pistols and fingerprinting equipment were captured in Wounded Knee, and were disarmed and released. Although they claimed to be "postal inspectors," AIM (American Indian Movement) leader Dennis Banks said, "They sure as hell weren't here defending mail boxes."

The district chairmen representing six of the reservation's eight districts met in a tepee in Wounded Knee March 11. After a four-hour meeting they announced: 1) their withdrawal from "a government-controlled body — the tribal government system; 2) the withdrawal of the Oglala Sioux from the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, which established the current tribal government system; and 3) declaration of national sovereignty for the Oglala Sioux nation.

They appointed ambassadors to seek recognition "first from the six independent nations of the Iroquois Confederacy and then from the United Nations." They said they hoped similar declarations on other reservations and eventually one united Indian nation would come out of this.

While at this writing district meetings had not been called to ratify the decision, a petition to revoke the tribal constitution had already gained more than 1,300 signatures and had been ratified by district meetings before the March 11 declaration.

In sharp contrast, the remaining members of the government-recognized tribal council met March 13 under federal guard in the expensive, brick BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) building here in Pine Ridge. They demanded "all non-Oglala, including the National Council of Churches," leave the Wounded Knee area. The declaration, made shortly after the FBI roadblocks and federal marshals were moved back into position and a busload of fresh FBI agents was unloaded in Pine Ridge, made no mention of these non-Oglala.

Besides finally getting its flunkies in the tribe to officially condemn the Wounded Knee action, the government has opened up a propaganda barrage against the militants, mostly Oglala Sioux, in Wounded Knee. The aim is to create an atmosphere that would justify a government invasion.

Senator George McGovern has lent himself to this effort. Radio news here reports that McGovern has urged the government to go in and arrest AIM leaders for "flagrant violation of the law."

Indian leaders say they will refuse to lay down their arms. They do not believe the promises and good intentions of McGovern and government spokesmen.

"We remember what happened to Big Foot in 1890," Russel Means said, "and we are not going to let it happen to us."

Federal troops massacred Big Foot and 200 Indian men, women, and children in Wounded Knee in 1890 after they laid down their arms.

Many solidarity actions

MARCH 14 — Demonstrations and picket lines were held in support of Indian rights and in opposition to a government invasion of Wounded Knee. The following is a partial report of these actions.

In Boston March 8 a demonstration at the Federal Building in the afternoon drew 75 people. Later that evening a rally at the Indian Center in downtown Boston drew 500 people.

On March 9, 300 people attended a noon rally on the University of California at Berkeley campus. The Young Socialist Alliance and Native American Student Association (NASA) cosponsored the rally. Speakers included Roxanne Jackson of NASA, who had just returned from Wounded Knee; Adam Nardwell, an organizer of the Alcatraz Island occupation in 1971; and Ken Milner, Socialist Workers candidate for Berkeley city council. Statements of support were read from the Bobby Seale for Oakland mayor campaign and other candidates for office in the East Bay area.

A rally called by the University of Texas at Austin student government, the YSA, the Iranian Students Association, and other groups drew 150 people March 12. The rally sent a protest telegram to the Justice Department demanding an end to interference by the Justice Department and the Bureau of Indian Affairs into the lives of Native Americans.

A rally of 125 people on March 9 at the University of Houston heard speakers from the Raza Unida Party, YSA, Black Intercommunal Alliance, and others.

One hundred and eighty people demonstrated outside the Federal Building

in downtown Detroit March 8 in support of the Indians at Wounded Knee. The demonstration was called by the American Indian Movement (AIM).

In Los Angeles, a picket line and vigil at the Federal Building has been continuing for several days. Members of AIM organized the action and are camping out on the steps of the building. During the day, the crowd of supporters swells to as many as 300 and includes many Blacks, Chicanos, and Asian-Americans.

Seventy-five people turned out for a rally March 9 at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia on just 24 hours' notice. Included among the speakers were people from AIM, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, United Farm Workers, and Young Socialist Alliance.

Several actions have occurred in Cleveland. Picket lines were held March 9 at Case Western Reserve University and Cleveland State University. Also AIM held a march in downtown Cleveland March 7. A meeting of 500 at Kent State heard several leaders of AIM.

A rally of 150 was held at the University of Washington at Seattle.

Several solidarity actions have been held in New York City, including a demonstration March 8 of 150.

A campus demonstration was held in Lexington, Ky., of 200, and one in Sacramento of 150. Other support actions have been held in Boulder, Colo., Portland, Ore., and Atlanta.

In addition to the demonstration we reported last week of some 1,000 in Denver March 6, several subsequent actions have been held there.

\$278 a year is NOT enough

Oglala Sioux fight

By SKIP BALL

WOUNDED KNEE, S.D., March 14 — To most non-Indians, the name of Wounded Knee first became famous on the cover of a paperback best seller. They assume Wounded Knee was chosen for its second role in history for this reason.

To Indians, especially those on the Pine Ridge Reservation, where Wounded Knee is located, Wounded Knee is much more. It is the site of the last battle between Indians and the U.S. cavalry, the site of a brutal massacre, and the beginning of the process of eliminating Indians by "domestication and assimilation" instead of by slaughter.

In fact, the federal laws that followed the last cavalry massacre, and their

District meeting and observed how they are run. The meetings are called by the district chairperson and are open to all in the district. The one we attended was conducted in the native language, Dakota. Following a motivation from Severt Young Bear, the 38-year-old district chairman, the floor was open for discussion and presentation of motions. Votes were taken on all resolutions.

The meeting passed a resolution to circulate a petition calling for the revocation of the tribal constitution. It also adopted motions of support for Wounded Knee, the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCR) and AIM.

An old man, William High Hawk, spoke for 45 minutes in defense of the



Indian woman in Pine Ridge, S.D., supporting the Wounded Knee demands.

role in eroding the remaining Indian sovereignty are what the Indians at Wounded Knee are fighting today. And their struggle did not start with the publication of Dee Brown's book *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*.

All you have to do to find this out is talk to the people on the reservation. Aaron DeSersa, an American Indian Movement (AIM) communications director (and a local AIM leader) publishes the Pine Ridge weekly *The Shannon County News*. A militant advocate of change on the reservation, DeSersa was involved in a political struggle with the last tribal chairman, Gerald One Feather.

DeSersa says his house was firebombed by Richard "Dickey" Wilson, the current tribal chairman. Wilson's removal is one of the demands behind the current struggle at Wounded Knee.

"The issue with One Feather," DeSersa said, "was political. We disagreed with his policies — specifically putting the tribal lands in mortgage and having white directors of government programs. But with Wilson it is a matter of corruption, his policies, and his dictatorial rule."

Six of the eight reservation districts held district meetings and voted to demand Wilson's impeachment. The council members flouted their wishes.

Mildred Galligo is one of the women who demonstrated recently against Wilson in front of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) building in Pine Ridge. She has been harassed, she said, "by Wilson's goons because I got up at his hearing and told those council members that their districts had voted for impeachment and they should carry out their wishes."

The Militant went to a Porcupine

actions at Wounded Knee. He vowed that if the federal marshals moved on Wounded Knee, the old people would dress in traditional costume and march to the federal lines in protest.

Young Bear told us the meeting, attended by 50 people, was representative, and he felt confident in its vote. Wilson charges that these district meetings are too small to be representative. But Young Bear pointed out that he "can call, as district chairman, a referendum vote on any resolution if someone is upset and does not think it was passed by a representative vote." But no one has challenged the votes of the districts that voted to oust Wilson.

What emerges from the rank and file and their leaders is a desire to change not just individuals but the system. The petition circulating now, which in two days was signed by more than 1,300 people, calls for repealing the entire tribal constitution. They have tried to work through the council, through votes in their district, through demonstrations at the BIA building, and even by trying to set up a different kind of tribal govern-



Militant/Skip Ball
Russell Means, AIM leader and an Oglala Sioux.

h to live on ting poverty & racist oppression



Indians gather for meeting at Wounded Knee trading post.

Militant/Skip Ball

ment—the Inter District Council (IDC). The IDC is made up of district chairpeople, who are closest to the people and are the only elected officials. They are directly answerable to the people through the district meetings.

"Even in the IDC," Young Bear said, "we just passed resolutions and got nothing done. That's why I called a district meeting after the impeachment attempt failed and said I was going to fight back." I said I was going to work with the Civil Rights Organization, and if needed, support calling in the American Indian Movement so we could get rid of this tribal council and get a government controlled by the people. And the people said go ahead."

The struggle is not just against Wilson. He merely personifies the graft and exploitation the BIA system not only allows but fosters.

The tribal government system was set up by a U.S. law in 1934. The BIA controls the tribal government, and federal laws control what goes on in the reservation.

"See, even if the council were all good guys, they would be powerless

to act," one Indian told *The Militant*.

U.S. laws work to take land, move Indians off, and move in whites. Under the Reallotment Act of 1948, all lands on Indian reservations were divided into 640-acre units. Any given unit may have been owned by many Indians, who then had to agree, under the law, on any development of the land or lease their land through the BIA.

If a group of Indians wants to work their lands as a cooperative, no loans are available for economic development. Using the excuse that Indians are its "trustees," and therefore ineligible for such funds, the government will not allow benefits from programs such as the soil bank to go to the Indians. Thus, almost all Indian land is leased to whites.

White ranchers, who are not trustees of the government, are eligible for federal grants.

To further lessen the chance of Indians' reclaiming their land, the government also has a provision going back to 1904 whereby the already tiny plots of Indian land are further divided by giving equal shares to all eligible heirs. Thus some "units" have

several hundred owners, and all must agree if they want to take back their land. This land is leased for as little as \$1 per acre per year.

Should an Indian decide to sell land, the BIA will process the sale the same day if the land is being sold to a white, but will hold up the process for six weeks if an Indian is buying the land. Most Indians sell because they need money immediately. So they sell to whites.

One-fifth of the original reservation has been lost this way.

Once off their land, most Indians are forced to live on welfare. Young Bear estimates there are only 900 jobs on the reservation, almost all government jobs. And even the Wilson administration admitted that unemployment reaches 70 percent.



Billboard on road to Wounded Knee.

Militant/Skip Ball

"I had one man come to me," Young Bear said, "who can't speak and is hard of hearing, and asked for a job as a janitor or cutting bushes and keeping the community center cared for. I took him to the BIA, and they said, 'This man's been in here five times and we can't help him.' I asked why, and they said, 'He gets \$278 a year from his land, and he can live on that.'"

Young Bear himself has a government job as a social service coordinator and makes \$117 every two weeks—a well-paying job on the reservation.

Food, however, is no cheaper, and in some cases is more expensive, than in the surrounding area.

Young Bear spoke to *The Militant* in the Porcupine Community Center,

a simple meeting hall in which the district people had built an office. He said that when he went to school, the "Indian language, dancing, and singing were outlawed on the reservation."

The people from that period, he said "are the biggest drunkards around. Without their culture and their identity, all they can do is drink. My grandmother sent me off the reservation to learn the language, to learn to sing and to dance."

At Wounded Knee today, the language, singing (what the capitalist press calls "Trenziel shouts and chants" because they don't understand Dakota language), and dancing are part of the struggle. Young people are reviving the culture, Young Bear said. And young people are, by a 1969

survey, 69 percent of the reservation.

"The government says 'self-determination' out of the corner of its mouth," Aaron DeSersa said, "but they can't put it into practice because if any Indian tribe got self-determination, they would be out of a job and they wouldn't be needed here anymore."

It is precisely the chiselers, the BIA agents, their paid-off flunkies in tribal councils, and other parasites on the reservation who the Indians at Wounded Knee are attempting to put out of work. And it is a struggle for self-determination that the government has tried so hard to crush.

The "outsiders" work for the government. The struggle at Wounded Knee grew up here.



Federal marshals block roads to Wounded Knee. 'We'll starve them out,' they say.

YSA urges Wounded Knee support actions

The following statement is by Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. Pulley visited the Pine Ridge Reservation from March 9-12.

The decision to occupy Wounded Knee and to request support from AIM was made by the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization at a meeting of 900 people. This decision is a part of the struggle against the inhuman conditions faced by the inhabitants of the Pine Ridge Reservation.

During my recent visit to Pine Ridge and Wounded Knee, I was able to see at firsthand the miserable plight of the Oglala Sioux. Out of a population of some 13,000, only 900 people are employed, almost all by the government itself.

In theory, the land of Pine Ridge is owned by the Indians. But, in fact, the Indians are compelled to lease their land to white ranchers because the government won't give agricultural grants to Indians.

The Indians sometimes receive as little as \$1 an acre in rent for their land. Needless to say, this doesn't make a decent livelihood possible. Most Indians are thus forced to live on welfare. And at year-end, when the lease-money is paid, the government even deducts from the welfare checks the amount of rent received.

In addition to this economic exploitation, the Indians are confronted with police brutality and the utter corruption of the tribal government. These conditions led to the formation of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization.

The Oglala Sioux are fighting for the right to determine their own destiny. They are struggling for control of the Pine Ridge Reservation. The capitalist politicians in Washington and the capitalist press have gone to great lengths to portray this action as inspired by "outside agitators."

By what right do they label the Indians as "outsiders?" What arro-

gance this reveals, coming as it does from the descendants of the Europeans who built their country on the graves of millions of native Americans who died at their hands. The "outsiders" at Wounded Knee are the federal marshals and the FBI agents who have surrounded Wounded Knee, armed with M-16s and armored vehicles.

These government agents have repeatedly threatened to go in and slaughter the occupants if they don't abandon their demands. The danger of bloodshed at the hands of the federal agents is very real. We know that this government has no qualms about gunning down those who stand up and resist its oppression. We saw it at Attica, at My Lai, at Kent and Jackson State, and at Wounded Knee itself in 1890.

The eyes of oppressed people throughout this country, and around the world, have been focused on Wounded Knee. Demonstrations

have already been held in cities across the country supporting the Indian struggle. So far the hand of those preparing another massacre has been stayed.

We must continue to oppose all repressive moves by the government. Demonstrate in defense of the Oglala Sioux at Wounded Knee! Let's demand of the government: Hands Off Wounded Knee!



Andrew Pulley

Thieu's U.S. visit

Supporters of self-determination for Vietnam should greet with enthusiasm the call to action by antiwar groups for protests on the occasion of Thieu's visit to the U.S. (see p.11)

Nixon, in arranging this journey by the Saigon butcher, wants to demonstrate Washington's commitment to maintaining Thieu in office. What better way to drive this point home than to pose for pictures in the White House?

Thieu will arrive in San Clemente just a few days after the final deadline for the release of POWs and the exit of U.S. soldiers from South Vietnam. The reasoning behind the timing is simple. Nixon hopes to declare that he has "ended" U.S. involvement in a war he never wanted, and has succeeded in saving "democracy" in Southeast Asia.

But the news from South Vietnam in the past few weeks is undermining the illusion that the cease-fire accord would lead to real peace and an end to U.S. intervention. A month after the cease-fire was signed, the bloodshed continues. In the words of a *Washington Post* reporter, "If anything the South Vietnamese government has become more restrictive since the agreement took effect, rather than less."

There have been repeated efforts by Washington to place the blame on "the enemy" for violating the accords. Anthony Lewis in the March 5 *New York Times* summed up the evidence of most observers: "Most of the fighting since the truce deadline has been started by the Saigon forces, attacking the other side wherever it is found."

There can be no peace until the U.S. gets totally out of Southeast Asia. The antiwar movement must continue to demand an end to U.S. support to the Thieu regime, and the immediate halt to U.S. intervention in all of Southeast Asia. Let's greet Nixon and Thieu with this message.

Hard line on wages?

As the position of the inflated dollar in the international monetary situation continues to worsen, sections of the American capitalist class are calling for even more stringent controls on wages. The March 10 *Business Week* ran an editorial entitled "Phase III controls: Too vague, too narrow, too weak." It declared, "the Administration must make it clear that there is nothing 'voluntary' about the new rules," and warned of the coming "showdown with labor over wage increases." The *New York Times* editors called on March 13 for "a much tougher incomes policy."

All of them mention price controls as well as wage controls for window dressing. But it has been proved since Nixon's wage controls were enacted a year and a half ago that real controls are only placed on wages. Employers gladly enforce the wage controls, but the government does not control prices. For the past two months food prices, for example, have risen at an annual rate of 23 percent.

The capitalists are especially worried because this year will see wage negotiations covering five million workers in such key industries as rubber, auto, and electrical manufacturing.

An all-out struggle by working people is required to defend their standard of living against Nixon's wage controls and these threats to stiffen them further. The labor movement does have the power to force an end to the controls. This potential power was illustrated during the recent Philadelphia teachers strike when 40 of the city's labor unions called for a general strike in support of the teachers. This step forced the union-busting city administration to retreat and make some concessions to the striking teachers.

Working people should not have to suffer to enable U.S. capitalists to make greater profits in competition with capitalists of other countries. The only answer to inflation that will protect the living standards of the majority of people in this country—not just the profits of the wealthy few—is for workers to demand cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts. The answer to the chronically high unemployment is shorten the work week at no loss in pay, to make enough jobs for everybody.

To fight most effectively for these goals, workers need their own political party. The Democrats and Republicans have proved themselves beholden to the capitalist ruling class.

Unsuppressed

I read Steve Beck's fine article ("Oil giants mask profit drive with talk of 'energy crisis'") in the March 2 *Militant*. You have an unsuppressed and factual paper, one that dares to print the truth. The other newspapers I get to read I use for blotting bacon grease.

I also enjoyed the article by Dick Roberts on the multinational corporations' control of the world money market.

B. H.

Iowa City, Iowa

New reader

I have been getting *The Militant* for a few months and am enjoying it more and more. It is interesting to me to see some people on the left in this country who are not fooled by the two-party system.

P. A.

Hawthorne, Calif.

Contraception

I feel *The Militant* is concentrating on the abortion issue and not giving enough emphasis to free and readily available contraceptives for men and women. This should be a demand of equal weight.

T. C.

Albany, N. Y.

Objective

During my one-year stay in the United States (1971-1972) I became acquainted with your socialist newsweekly. Now that I am back in Finland I would like to continue reading *The Militant* because I am really enthusiastic about the American socialist movement. In my view your paper offers better and more objective information about the current issues of American labor than the big-money-supported American magazines.

R. R.

Helsinki, Finland

South Africa

I read Baxter Smith's article "Our man in South Africa" (*The Militant*, March 9) with interest. As one who recently published a book on American involvement in South Africa (*Pattern for Profit in Southern Africa*, D. C. Heath and Co. — reviewed in the March *International Socialist Review*), I welcome any truthful exposure of American cooperation with the apartheid regime. In this spirit I wish to offer some fraternal criticism.

Smith gives the impression that the total white population joins in the daily oppression of South Africa's Blacks. I don't hold the masses of whites to blame. They are also pawns in the game, swayed and held at bay by the government. Blacks must organize among themselves and be joined by their white brothers in a common struggle to rid themselves of their true oppressors.

Ian Mackler

New York, N. Y.

Fills a big gap

Logically a prison library should possess the most updated and diversified selection of books, magazines, and newspapers. Instead we have an antiquated collection of books and other material that dates back perhaps 60 years.

In short, *The Militant* has filled an important void, enabling me to stay abreast of national and world events, untampered and unpackaged. Also it has made me fully recognize that the Afro-American episode or phase in the world liberation struggle.

A prisoner

New York

Black September

Really, you are *too* much. As a subscriber to *The Militant* and a constant defender against your critics who call you anti-Semitic I could hardly wait to get today's issue (March 16) to see your headline on the Khar-toum killings (as you headlined the Israeli jetliner tragedy on page 1 the previous week).

So what do I see — on page 9, a diatribe against Israel and one line, "Their tactics . . . could not have been more wrong," mildly censuring the Black September killings. Can't you get it into your heads that terrorism is terrorism, killing is killing, no matter who does it?

I think you are not so much anti-Israel as you are blindly, childishy pro-Arab. Are there no bad Arabs in your books? I condemn *all* acts of terrorism and killings, no matter how right the cause. I also condemn slanted news — in a paper that spends most of its time criticizing others.

I agree with 90 percent of your criticisms. They are needed, they are right. But you are beginning to emulate those you criticize by being blind and inflexible.

Gloria Bamberger

New York, N. Y.

CP election strategy

As Larry Seigle's article in the Feb. 16 *Militant* ("Gus Hall: Communist Party election strategy wrong for thirty years") points out, the CP is going to experience some very stiff opposition within its ranks as it implements the latest political shift.

It is in this light that I relate the following incident.

In mid-October 1972, McGovern made a stop in San Diego, where he spoke to a large rally in Balboa Park. At the rally were many supporters of the Jenness-Pulley campaign, selling Nixon and McGovern truth kits, other SWP campaign material, and *The Militant*.

Also present were several members of the Young Workers Liberation League, the youth organization in political solidarity with the CP and official supporters of the CP's Hall-Tyner presidential ticket. They were easily recognized by their YWLL buttons, which they wore proudly . . . side-by-side with their McGovern buttons.

Jenness-Pulley supporters confronted several YWLLers on their apparently paradoxical display of buttons. After reflecting a moment, they saw the contradiction — and removed their YWLL buttons!

Dennis Scarla

San Diego, Calif.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Bus drivers

While selling *Militants* in the New York Port Authority terminal I struck up a conversation with striking bus drivers and learned the following facts, which should interest your readers. They show how stubborn some big corporations are when it comes to paying decent wages, and how modest workers' demands sometimes are.

About 290 out of 300 drivers for Continental Trailways have been out on strike since April 1972. Scheduled runs in the Northeast have been driven by nonunion drivers. For almost a year the company has refused to meet two union demands. They call for seven paid holidays (now there are none) and a pension plan based on 2 percent of a driver's yearly salary (total pension is now \$1,200 a year after 65).

These demands are minimal, especially in light of the fact drivers are not asking for any increase in base pay, sick pay, or any reduction in hours before overtime (now 70 hours). They are also still willing to pay for their own uniforms.

Joel Greenberg
New York, N. Y.

YWLL

The recent physical assault on Young Socialist Alliance member Harvey McArthur by a member of the Young Workers Liberation League (see *The Militant*, March 2) emphasizes the irrationality of substituting violence for principled dialogue as a means of contending with intermovement disputes. Such an approach to revolutionary politics only works to weaken the popular appeal and programmatic effectiveness of the socialist alternative.

W. B.
Santa Barbara, Calif.

Prison harassment

We have a special housing unit here for punitive segregation. This, as all special housing units in prisons, is to harass and intimidate progressive or politically minded inmates. The next step is to Clinton, where a maxi-maxi [special maximum security prison] is located.

This prison is on the Canadian border and since prisons are for the poor, relatives and friends cannot see what is happening to their loved ones because of money or the distance (about 12 hours from New York City). Martin Sostre and many other comrades are there. We need you people out there; we need your support. Let this government know you will not allow our systematic liquidation.

A prisoner
New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Steel elections challenged

National elections for top officers in the United Steelworkers were held Feb. 13, but final results in all districts will not be officially announced until May 1.

Unofficial returns for the important post of district director in such key districts as 31 (Chicago-Gary), 28 (Cleveland), and 26 (Youngstown-Warren) show surprisingly close counts, and the elections are being challenged. One of the strongest challengers is Ed Sadlowski in District 31. Sadlowski ran against Sam Evett, a fixture of the union bureaucracy. The first count showed Evett with 25,081 votes, Sadlowski 22,257.

In addition to these challenges by candidates who were on the ballot and made strong showings, the entire election procedure is being appealed to the Labor Department by others who were denied a place on the ballot.

One of those denied ballot status is Sam Stokes, a Black USW staffer, whose campaign for vice-president was endorsed by 418 locals. He was ruled off the ballot by the International on the spurious claim that his union dues were not paid during a period of hospitalization. The real reason, Stokes's supporters charge, is the deep-seated race prejudice of Steelworkers President I.W. Abel and the coterie of top officials around him. There is not and never has been a Black man on the International executive board. Stokes was given a good chance to win because of the large number of Blacks in the union and the unpopularity of all incumbent officials, especially Abel. Stokes has filed a damage suit against USW.

Others ruled off the union ballot are William Litch Jr., who sought to run against Abel for president, George Edwards for secretary-treasurer, and Anthony Cascone for teller. They are charging election irregularities and have appealed to the Labor Department for a new election.

These moves within the Steelworkers union are prompted partly by the recent success of the Miners reform movement, but only in part. There is ferment in the ranks of the Steelworkers because of unemployment in the steel towns, speedup in the steel mills, and collaboration of Abel with the steel barons.

In recent years drastic changes have occurred in

the industry. There are more Blacks and other minorities in the mills. The workers are young. They are dissatisfied. They want change.

Ed Sadlowski, himself a young man, wants to be Steelworkers district director in Chicago. He voices the discontents of young workers. He is now a Steelworkers staff representative. He also worked 12 years as a laborer and machinist in a steel mill and has not been away long enough to forget what the mills are like.

In his campaign literature he promised to seek changes in the union constitution to guarantee an International executive board "that includes minorities, youth, women and rank and file steelworkers." He declared his opposition to the no-strike clause in the union contract.

Supporters say he endorsed the antiwar movement and spoke for women's rights while a union staff member, uncommon for anyone on the Steelworkers payroll.

Sادلowski contrasts in almost every respect from the present District 31 director, Joe Germano, who is retiring in June. Germano was elected in 1947 and is a product of the old McDonald machine. One of Abel's supporters when the split between Abel and McDonald came in 1965, Germano has always been a mainstay of the bureaucracy, a strong-arm operator, never sympathetic to the needs of the membership.

The man picked by Germano as his successor is his assistant, Evett. According to Sadlowski, Evett's experience as a steelworker is none; as grievance man, none; as local union officer, none; as Joe Germano's second man, 30 years.

Sادلowski's supporters say they did not expect a fair election and were thwarted in many challenges to keep it honest. Whether further appeals and challenges will succeed depends primarily upon the growing moods of revolt in the steel mills.

"If they try to fire me from my union job because I'm protesting the vote, I'll just go back to work in the mill," says Sadlowski.

This is a new departure for a union functionary, and it reflects the new moods of workers in industry today.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



Proud to be a Chicana

The rebellions inside America's prisons that have erupted in the past few years have been an inspiration to those of us on the outside.

Faced with the prospect of long years in prison for petty crimes or no crimes at all, it must be all too easy to develop an outlook of despair. But, instead, we often hear of courageous brothers and sisters who are studying, organizing, fighting for their rights, and getting out the message that they have not been broken in the capitalist dungeons.

For me it was particularly uplifting to read a newsletter published by *pintas* (Chicana prisoners) at the California Institution for Women in Frontera. Titled *La Voz de MARA*, it is the publication of the Mexican-American Research Association (MARA), a group formed by the *pintas*. On the credit page it states, "MARA welcomes all articles, drawings, etc., that any of our carnales y carnalas care to send, including constructive criticism."

Pintas, more than most of our people, are made to feel cheap, degraded, and worthless by this racist, sexist system.

Yet it is evident from reading *La Voz de MARA* that these sisters have found a source of strength that has enabled them to retain their human dignity. It is nationalism, a sense of pride in being Chicana, and a sense of solidarity with all of La Raza in its struggle for self-determination.

The September 1972 issue, which I recently obtained, commemorated the murder of Rubén Salazar by Los Angeles cops at the 1970 Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles.

In an editorial, Maria Santillanes states: "It is ironic that with each tragedy our people endure, every miscarriage of justice our people are subjected to, and every obstacle our people are faced with, seemingly out of nowhere there follows an offspring of beneficial and valuable ideas, and an increase of support, both moral and physical."

"As human beings, Chicanos have rights," she goes on, "but as Chicanos, we had to fight for these rights. In California we have no representation in regard to anything which concerns Chicanos. In the government we find very few Chicanos."

"We need more Chicanos to represent the large Chicano population, many of whom are in prison as a result of poor representation. Even in matters of the trial of a Chicano, how many times do we find Chicanos on the jury. Here also they say it is a matter of peers."

"Because of the maljustice inflicted on Chicanos, we have felt the necessity to form our own union, to dedicate our lives if necessary, to gain recognition, representation and rights as La Raza Unida Party."

"America is not the land of the free, but the land of the rich, and is controlled by those who have the money. When people tell me I am an American, I will be offended and I will correct them. I am not an American, I do not want to be an American. *Yo soy Chicana*. I am proud to be a Chicana, and I thank God I was born a Chicana."

Carnala, we get the message.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Keep cool—The FDA rejected as "unreasonable" a Consumers Union proposal that it bar electrical toys if the surfaces become burning hot. Instead, the agency decided, it will require a label on such toys stating, "Hot. Do not touch." And if the kiddies can't read, that'll motivate them to learn, right?

The handwriting on the carton?—A recently enacted ordinance in St. Petersburg, Fla., bans smoking from such places as stores, elevators, dance floors, theaters, public transportation. It also prohibits flicking ashes or butts from "windows and doors on any building or public place or from any moving vehicle."

Doesn't that make sex between animals sinful?—A bill introduced in the California legislature would deal with an alleged animal population explosion by authorizing pet food dealers to add a dash of contraceptive to their products. Pet foods free of such drugs would be taxed an extra cent with the revenues to promote animal birth control.

Regular or no-cal?—A sign in front of a Pasadena, Calif., church advises: "God, like Pepsi-Cola, has a lot to give."

Dep't of nonreassuring reassurances—A California agriculture official is "al-

most positive" that lettuce banned from distribution for being overdosed with a lethal pesticide did not make its way to local consumers. After the situation was discovered, he explains, "A lot of the growers just waited a week and then took off the outside leaves."

Economy tip—In a number of areas, the Farmers Insurance Group is offering a special discount to non-smoking drivers. The reduced rate is based on findings that the accident rate among smokers is almost double that of nonsmokers. A company representative speculated that those on the weed may tend to be more reckless.

Individual solution—For \$24.50 you can have another gadget in the kitchen. A platform affair with a rotating belt covered with imitation turf. Flido steps up and does his thing. The belt then moves forward for the flushing and cleansing process. The inventor suggests it be placed next to the washer and dryer so the same plumbing can be used. Which sounds OK if there's no mixup on the connections.

Leave the driving to them—The Federal Highway Administration cheerfully reported that of the nation's interstate buses inspected in 1971 only 8.7 percent were found to be dangerously defective. In 1970 it was 11.7 percent.

Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



Betty Friedan's witch-hunt

Betty Friedan's article in the March 4 *New York Times Magazine* angered everyone who knows how destructive witch-hunts against radicals and lesbians in the women's movement are.

The article purports to be a history of the feminist movement, starting in 1963, when Friedan wrote *The Feminine Mystique*. In the course of the article, she levels some of the worst slanders heard yet about the role of gay and radical women in the movement.

Friedan complains that the "rhetoric of sex/class warfare" has marred the women's movement. We never find out much about this "rhetoric," except that anyone who is against capitalism or for gay liberation is a likely suspect. Instead of clearly discussing the political differences she has with other women in the movement, Friedan tries to divert attention by raising the specter of "CIA infiltration."

"Someone was trying to take over our movement," she asserts. "Sometime in 1968, we heard that 200 women had been trained by the F. B. I. or the C. I. A. to infiltrate the women's movement. . . ."

Who was behind this devious mission? Friedan doesn't tell us, but she drops more than enough hints: "The disrupters of the women's movement were the ones continually trying to push lesbian-

ism or hatred of men. . . . Some of the disruption seemed to be instigated by extreme left groups."

These charges met with an outraged response. On March 7 some leaders in the National Organization for Women (NOW) and other feminist and lesbian groups held a news conference in New York to denounce Friedan and dissociate themselves from her remarks.

Ti-Grace Atkinson, singled out for special attack in the article, said of Friedan: "Her tactics are to smear, to imply the most serious charges without substantiation . . . to appeal to the basest fears in the uninformed, to imply guilt by association . . . and all the other dubious weapons last seen in the Joe McCarthy arsenal of the 1950s."

A statement by the Coordinating Council of the Manhattan Women's Political Caucus said: ". . . we regard Ms. Friedan's remarks as divisive and a denial of the guiding spirit of the movement, to represent and support all women's rights, whether they be heterosexual, homosexual, or of differing philosophical political views." The council added that it "categorically denies and considers nonexistent the alleged widespread destructive and subversive activities of lesbians, radical women, and other women's movement leaders."

There were also statements condemning Friedan

from author Kate Millett; Women's Political Caucus leader Brenda Feigen-Fasteau; Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; New York NOW; Sidney Abbott and Barbara Love, coauthors of *Sappho Was A Right-On Woman*; and many others.

Meanwhile, the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party, lent credence to Friedan's charges. In the March 6 issue, Madeleine Provinzano lamented that the Task Force on Sexuality and Lesbianism at the recent NOW convention passed a resolution urging a fight for lesbian rights as "a top priority." (She neglected to note that the convention as a whole approved this resolution.)

Lesbianism, the headline of the article claimed, is a "divisive issue in women's fight for equality." Provinzano falsely counterposed women's rights struggles and other fights for social change to the gay liberation struggle.

Statements like those of the *Daily World* and Friedan are the real "divisive" activities in the women's movement. Every woman, whether she is gay or heterosexual, socialist, communist, Democrat, or Republican, has the right to participate in the movement. Our problem is finding ways to involve more women in the struggle, not ways to gay-bait or red-bait some of those who are already fighting with us!

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



A jackal is a...

According to Webster, a jackal is any of several wild dogs of the Old World, more yellowish and less daring than wolves, sometimes hunting in packs and feeding on carrion and small animals.

That's the term that came to mind when I read the headlines last week of the renewal of the racist school boycott by white parents in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn.

These parents are protesting the presence of 32 Black students at John Wilson Junior High School. These parents' "beef" is that the 32 students, who are bused each day from the Tilden Houses, a project in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, "tip the racial balance" at the school. 1,440 students are enrolled at Wilson, of whom 34 percent are Black.

These same parents held a similar boycott last October. They argued that Wilson was "naturally" integrated, and as a result, New York School Chancellor Harvey Scribner requested the District 18 (Canarsie and East Flatbush) school board to submit a new plan that would take this into account.

The District 18 school board then submitted a plan that prohibited the Tilden House students from attending Canarsie schools. The chancellor accepted some of the proposals but rejected those calling for excluding the Tilden students.

The local board appealed the decision, and the parents renewed their boycott to pressure the central board.

The local board, composed of nine members, however, is split over the Canarsie plan. The four members from East Flatbush oppose the plan of the five members from Canarsie. But their opposition is not motivated by virtuous ideals. It is of another sort.

They charge that the five Canarsie members have been sending Blacks and Puerto Ricans to East Flatbush schools in order to keep Canarsie schools "as white as possible." And they oppose this because they claim it destroys the "racial balance" in East Flatbush schools. Well-intentioned public servants sit on this board!

While all this internecine bickering is going on, Blacks and Puerto Ricans, as usual, are catching hell.

Black and Puerto Rican students attempting to enter any of the eight Canarsie schools that are boycotted are jeered and cursed. White students and parents who aren't "respecting" the boycott are also jeered.

On March 1, the boycotters gathered at Wilson and sang "God Bless America." One white woman told students bound for school, "Be a good American citizen—stay out of school."

The central board claims they won't give the parents an answer to their appeal until they stop the boycott. Meanwhile, the boycott, organized by the Italian-American Civil Rights League and the Concerned Citizens of Canarsie, with the aid of the Jewish Defense League, is growing. After a 400-car motorcade supporting the boycott (many cars sported U.S., Italian, and Israeli flags) paraded through Canarsie on March 4, one man boasted, "We'll get thousands out here. They'll come from all over the city. We won't give up until we win."

It seems that Webster's definition needs to be updated. America is in the New World, but there are some jackals here.

Internat'l Women's Day Celebrations

Seattle

By GALE SHANGOLD

SEATTLE, March 3—On March 2, 1,200 women and men packed the University of Washington ballroom to hear Evelyn Reed and Kate Millett, two leading spokeswomen for the feminist movement. It was the largest women's liberation event ever held in Seattle.

Evelyn Reed is a Marxist anthropologist, an active feminist, and a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party. She is the author of *Problems of Women's Liberation* (Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014).

Kate Millett is best known as the author of *Sexual Politics*, but she is also a filmmaker and sculptress, and works in the gay feminist movement.

The meeting was part of a two-day celebration of International Women's Day. So many people crowded into the ballroom that sound had to be piped into another room as well.

In her presentation, Reed contended that women must do away with the biological and anthropological myths about their role. Women must reconstruct their history, she asserted. "Women's inferiority is not due to biology, but due to the society we live in."

Millett opened her remarks by stating that Reed's talk was "the best academic thesis and the best piece of scholarship I have ever heard." In her speech, Millett talked about the activities of gay feminists, women prisoners, and Chicanas. Feminism, she said, is part of the struggle by all oppressed people.

On March 3, 400 women attended a full day of workshops and speakers. The keynote speakers were Rita Shaw of the Abortion Action Coalition of Women; Diana Syvertsen, a student at Roosevelt High School; Ann Thompson, from the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws; and Jennifer James, an authority on prostitution and female prisoners.

Workshop topics included the Equal Rights Amendment, the meaning of the Supreme Court abortion ruling, gay women, high school women, women prisoners, child care, and prostitution. Saturday's program culminated with a demonstration of self-defense.

Berkeley

By ANNE CHASE

BERKELEY, Calif., March 12—Nearly 1,000 Berkeley women celebrated International Women's Day here with a day of activities on the University of California campus.

Among several featured panels was a panel on the international abortion struggle, with speakers from Denmark, France, and the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC).

Three candidates in the upcoming Berkeley city council elections, as well as city councilwoman Loni Hancock, presented their views on the feminist movement at a panel on women in politics. The candidates included Nancy Mackler from the Socialist Workers Party, Ying Kelley from the April Coalition, and Susan Hone from the erate slate.

Romaine Sheppard from the Native American Student Association gave a report on developments at Wounded Knee, along with a call for solidarity actions in support of the Indian protest. Elaine Brown, Black Panther Party candidate for Oakland city council, spoke on the child-care cutbacks.

That evening, about 150 people attended a talk by Evelyn Reed on "Is Biology Women's Destiny?"

At Merritt College, 500 women par-



Evelyn Reed (speaking) and Kate Millett (wearing hat) were featured speakers at March 2-3 women's liberation conference in Seattle. Twelve hundred people turned out for Reed-Millett meeting.

ticipated in a day of activities on March 8. The majority of those attending the various events were Black, Chicana, Asian-American, and Native American women.

An international panel at Merritt had speakers from the African Liberation Day Committee, Asian Studies, University of California Ethnic Studies Department, Irish Defense Committee, and Mirta Vidal from *The Militant*.

Portland

By RITA MORAN

PORTLAND, March 11—A coalition of women's groups in Portland organized two days of activities in honor of International Women's Day. Women from many college campuses, as well as members of the women's center (A Woman's Place), the Oregon Women's Abortion Tribunal Committee, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom helped in planning and building the events.

The two-day program opened with a speech by Evelyn Reed on March 7, attended by more than 180 women and men. Her talk, "Have Women Always Been the Second Sex?" was followed by much discussion about the roots of women's oppression and its relationship to capitalist society.

A panel on working women drew 40 people. Julia Ruuttila, from the women's auxiliary of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, outlined the origins of International Women's Day and the relationship of her union to working women. Artha Adair, from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, gave a detailed presentation on the Farah Pants boycott.

The current crisis in child care was discussed by a panel of activists from the Latch Key day-care centers in Portland. The next day a spirited picket line of more than 150 people demonstrated at the federal court house, demanding the right to child care.

Another important focus of activity was abortion. About 60 women came to a panel on March 8 on the meaning of the Supreme Court abortion ruling.

Detroit

By MARTY PETTIT

DETROIT, March 9—Wayne State University Women's Liberation sponsored an International Women's Day celebration here March 8.

Seventy-five men and women, most of them Black, attended a panel on "Black Women in Struggle." Maudy Jordan from the National Welfare Rights Organization spoke about the contributions of Rosa Parks, Mary Bethune,

Josephine Hulett, and Mary McClinton. She also related her own experience as a household worker in the 1950s. Gloria House, an instructor in Afro-American literature and studies in Third World and women's liberation, read a series of her poems.

A "Women in Politics" panel presented talks by Pat Burnett from the Women's Political Caucus; Linda Nordquist, Socialist Workers Party; Harriet Rotter, Republican Party; Annetta Miller, Democratic Party; and Jeananne Havstad, Human Rights Party.

In the evening, women discussed the problems and potential of the woman artist. One hundred and twenty people attended this session, and at least that many also watched the Street Corner Society perform their satire on the socialization of a young woman.



March 7 Brooklyn College forum on sex discrimination in city university system.

San Francisco

By GEORGE COX

SAN FRANCISCO, March 12—The San Francisco and Oakland/Berkeley Socialist Workers Party cosponsored a "Women in Revolution" rally on Friday evening, March 9, at the University of San Francisco. More than 150 people attended.

Mirta Vidal, staff writer for *The Militant*, spoke on Chicanas and their relationship to the women's liberation movement. She emphasized that there is no contradiction between being a feminist and a Chicano nationalist and that both movements serve to strengthen and support each other.

Sharon Devlin, an Irish republican

activist, spoke on the status of women in Ireland, emphasizing the oppressive influence of the Catholic Church. She also went into the developing consciousness among women in the Irish republican movement of the importance of fighting for women's rights, such as child care, equal pay, and equality under the law.

Evelyn Reed, a Marxist anthropologist, spoke on the power of the women's movement. She traced the development of the women's movement, the significance of the abortion law repeal struggle, and the importance of mass action in achieving change for women. Her talk ended by emphasizing the growth of feminism on an international scale and the need for a socialist revolution to end women's oppression.

An all-day symposium on education, sponsored by Independent Campus Women, took place at San Francisco State College on March 8. More than 300 people participated. The two main speakers were Evelyn Reed and Rita Mae Brown, a lesbian feminist poet.

International Women's Day celebrations also took place in many other cities.

One feature of the women's speak-out held March 8 at the University of Houston was a talk by Linda McGregor, a member of the women's auxiliary of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. The OCAW is now on strike against the Shell Oil Company, and women have played an important role in organizing strike support.

In Austin, 100 people participated in a rally at the University of Texas on March 8.

Two hundred women came to an all-day conference at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland on March 10.

An all-day conference March 8 at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis drew more than 200 people. One of the highlights was a multimedia show on feminism, "Where Am I Now That I Need Me?"

New York University Women's Liberation sponsored a series of activities March 7-8, including a debate on women's liberation between Linda Jenness, 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, and Dr. Ernest Van Den Vaag, a professor at the New School.

At Lake Forest College, near Chicago, 250 women came to a conference on "A Woman's Choice." Another 150 women participated in a Chicago meeting on international women's struggles, sponsored by the Chicago Women's Liberation Union. The Illinois Women's Abortion Coalition collected 350 signatures in support of the Abortion Rights Act during the weekend of activities. The act was introduced into Congress by Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and calls for repeal of all restrictions on abortion.

The San Diego Women's National Abortion Action Coalition held a meeting on "Crimes Against Women" at San Diego State College March 8. And in Boston, several hundred women held a demonstration March 10, organized by the Cambridge Women's Center and Female Liberation.

Problems of Women's Liberation

By EVELYN REED

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Fighting more intense than before 'truce'

Thieu regime harasses, expels journalists

By CAROLINE LUND

MARCH 13—As of today reports were that the level of fighting in South Vietnam was more intense than it was just before the cease-fire was signed Jan. 27. "It looks now as if the Vietnamese are going to go right on fighting the way they have for years," said a U.S. official quoted in the March 11 *New York Times*.

This reality of war contrasts sharply with the statement of Secretary of State William Rogers only eight days earlier. Rogers assured reporters that, "The cease-fire seems to be more effective from day to day."

News on the fighting in South Vietnam has, however, been noticeably reduced, as the Saigon dictatorship has launched a campaign against foreign journalists attempting to cover the war.

On March 10 it was reported that three American correspondents were being expelled from South Vietnam. They are Donald Davis, acting Saigon bureau chief of United Press International; Ron Nessen of NBC News; and Jacques Leslie of the *Los Angeles Times*.

The Saigon government had announced earlier that it would expel any journalists they felt were guilty of "un-Vietnamese activities"—a term that has not been defined.

In attempting to justify the expulsion of Davis, Saigon spokesman Pham Duong Hien charged that UPI had given "ample space to news stories on alleged massacres and tortures of civilian detainees based on Communist sources while neglecting to report about commentaries made by our spokesmen on these stories."

In addition, Saigon officials have informed Agence France-Presse that one of its correspondents would not be allowed back into South Vietnam. Sylvan Fox reported in the March 8 *New York Times* that correspondents of the *Times* had three times been detained for up to three hours by Saigon military police when attempting to cover activities of the Joint Mil-

tary Commission.

Fox writes that "several of those journalists involved have visited Vietcong-controlled areas of South Vietnam and have written articles about the torture and beating of political prisoners based on interviews with recently released prisoners."

Ron Nessen of NBC had merely attempted to visit delegates from North Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government on the Joint Military Commission.

Meanwhile Thieu's attacks on rebel-held territory continue. Especially hard hit by bombing and shelling has been Quang Tri province. An expose by Henry Kamm in the March 8 *New York Times* explained how the Saigon regime is manipulating the refugee figures from Quang Tri province both to line the pockets of their officials, and also to justify the massive bombing of the province.

Saigon officials have exaggerated the number of refugees from Quang Tri on the order of some 100,000 people. This way they receive relief money from the U.S. government for the non-existent refugees. At the same time they use the figures to try to prove that people don't want to live in rebel-controlled territory and to justify the bombing and shelling of the province on the grounds that the civilians have all left. Actually those 100,000 civilians are being terrorized by the Saigon regime.

The fighting also continues in Laos. On March 6 the insurgents of the Pathet Lao charged the Vientiane government and the United States with 230 violations of the Laotian cease-fire accord in only one week since the accord was signed. The Pathet Lao claimed that the government had not even broadcast orders for the cease-fire to its troops.

Malcolm Browne reported in the March 9 *New York Times* that "government troops, strongly backed by Laotian Air Force propeller-driven fighter-bombers, have been driving

deeply into traditional Communist-held areas. Communities displaying Pathet Lao flags have been regularly bombed."

U.S. officials clearly approve of these moves. As Browne points out, "Laotian military leaders are aware that without United States gasoline, ammunition, spare parts, food and money, their forces would collapse in days or even hours."

Meanwhile Washington has attempted to camouflage these aggressive actions of its own puppet forces against civilian populations by blowing up a storm over North Vietnam troops remaining in Laos and alleged movement of North Vietnamese troops and supplies toward the South.

Earlier Washington had attempted to throw up a similar smokescreen by complaining that the North Vietnamese allegedly had set up anti-aircraft missile equipment in Khesanh province. After threatening air attacks against the missile sites, the U.S.

command announced March 12 that the missiles had been removed.

The Canadian members of the International Commission of Control and Supervision have helped carry off this ruse. On March 10 they publicly accused two members of the ICCS—obviously the Polish and Hungarian members, although they were not named—of obstructing an investigation of the alleged missiles in Khesanh. Through their threats to leave the commission over this and other issues, the Canadians have cooperated in drawing attention away from Thieu's systematic violations of the accords.

After protests from the North Vietnamese and PRG, the Thieu regime finally drew back on its previous threat not to release thousands of rebel prisoners scheduled to be set free under the accords. But on March 10 the PRG charged that Thieu's forces had attacked and occupied one of the two places where Vietnamese POWs were supposed to be exchanged, in another blatant violation of the accords.



Bierman in the Victoria (British Columbia) Times
'I can't help but wonder why none of us is keeping an eye on the Pentagon.'

Cambodian regime shaken by rebel forces

By CAROLINE LUND

"The Cambodian Army with all its superior equipment supplied by the United States has been outmaneuvered and outfought by its combined Vietnamese and Cambodian foes at every point. Military experts, including Cambodians, believe that it would collapse without American bombing support."

This conclusion was expressed March 8 by Henry Kamm, a correspondent for the *New York Times* in Cambodia.

Despite all the Nixon administration's talk of bringing "peace" to Southeast Asia, the U.S. is waging a full-fledged war in Cambodia. Kamm describes the nature of this war: "The guerrillas overrun Government positions, American planes bomb them out, and the Government announces the reconquest of devastated places. Meanwhile, refugees drift into this city [Phnom Penh] telling of the civilian dead and pillaging by the soldiers."

Meanwhile on Feb. 27 Agence France-Presse reported that the U.S. had established a secret base for American aircraft at the Phnom Penh airport. The base is used for refueling and possibly for loading up the planes with bombs and napalm.

Stanley Karnow, writing in the Feb. 24 *New Republic*, estimates that the Phnom Penh government controls only 20 percent of Cambodian territory and 60 percent of the population, although most of these are refugees



Lon Nol

who have streamed into the cities. Karnow reports the Cambodian rebel forces have grown "in spectacular fashion, from some 3000 in 1970 to nearly 45,000 at present."

The Cambodian correspondent of

the *Christian Science Monitor*, Daniel Southerland, confirmed March 10 that "Popular discontent with the Phnom Penh government has grown more widespread than ever before."

He cites the Cambodian teachers as an example of a section of society that previously supported the government but now is in open rebellion against it. A strike of primary and secondary school teachers has spread from Phnom Penh to the provinces, extending even into small villages under government control.

The weakening of the Lon Nol government in Phnom Penh is proceeding despite American military aid amounting to \$5-million per week, not counting the cost of U.S. bombing support.

Because of the extreme isolation of the Lon Nol regime and its precarious grip on the country, the U.S. is moving in to attempt to dump Lon Nol and replace him with some other pro-imperialist puppet who is more competent and credible. The current U.S. choice seems to be Lon Nol's brother, Lieutenant General Sisowath Sirik Matak.

The U.S. did the same thing a decade ago in Vietnam, when it arranged the deposing and assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem when he became too much of an embarrassment to the U.S.

It's all part of what Nixon means when he speaks about assuring "self-determination" to the peoples of Southeast Asia.

As Stanley Karnow puts it, both Lon Nol and former Cambodian president Norodom Sihanouk would "be retired to southern France" to be replaced with a more "flexible" personality. "Such a maneuver would certainly require the cooperation of Hanoi and Peking," writes Karnow, "and Kissinger may have proposed it on his trips to those capitals last week." Thus far it appears that Kissinger was unsuccessful if that was indeed one of the purposes of his trip.

As the U.S. maneuvers to replace the Lon Nol government, millions of dollars of American taxpayers' money are going to enrich the corrupt Cambodian government and army officer caste. Stanley Karnow writes that army officers are the wealthiest people in Phnom Penh, as shown "in their new suburban villas, in the sleek Mercedes that clog Phnompenh's streets and in their presence at the city's fancier French restaurants."

Army officers pocket some \$3-million of U.S. taxpayers' money each month because they claim pay for twice as many Cambodian soldiers as actually exist.

Demand 'U.S. out now!'

Saigon's dictator Thieu is coming to the United States the first week of April. The National Peace Action Coalition, Student Mobilization Committee, and other antiwar forces are planning demonstrations at the time of his visit to demand an end to all U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia and no support to Thieu's repressive regime.

Thieu will spend the first few days of April on the West Coast and in San Clemente. Antiwar forces in the Los Angeles area have called a picket line for Saturday, March 31, at 6 p.m. in front of the Beverly Hilton Hotel. Nixon is scheduled to speak there at a testimonial dinner, and it is reported that Thieu will also appear.

NPAC and SMC are supporting and building this action under its demands of: "U.S. out of Southeast Asia now!" "End all support to Thieu!" and "No U.S.-imposed regimes!"

On April 5 (not April 4, as previously announced) the Washington Area Peace Action Coalition has

called a 4:30 picket line at the White House and a 6 p.m. rally in Lafayette Park. People from nearby areas and cities are urged to come into Washington for the action.

Protests are planned in many other cities as well, including Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Seattle, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Denver, Austin, and New York.

Chuck Petrin, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee, told *The Militant* of the SMC's efforts to involve the campuses in building these actions. "Students everywhere understand all too well that puppets such as Thieu do not pull their own strings," he said. "Our protest against Thieu's visit is a call for renewed action on the campuses to force the U.S. government to end its criminal intervention in Southeast Asia once and for all."

For more information about the actions, contact NPAC or SMC at 150 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

Report from Saigon jails

Further confirmation of the brutality faced by political prisoners of the Thieu regime has come from the reports of two young Frenchmen who were held in Thieu's prisons for more than two years. The two, André Menras and Jean Pierre Debris, are currently touring the United States under the auspices of Amnesty International.

Menras and Debris went to Vietnam in 1968 as part of an exchange teaching program sponsored by the French government. They were arrested for passing out antiwar leaflets in downtown Saigon.

They believe the reason they were finally released and deported in December of last year is because the Thieu regime did not want them to witness a massive reclassification of political prisoners as common crim-

inals. They charge that the Saigon regime has changed the records of thousands of political prisoners so as not to have to release them in accord with the cease-fire agreement.

According to Menras and Debris, the Saigon regime holds 200,000 political prisoners. They detailed the terrible conditions and tortures that these prisoners are subjected to.

Columnist Tom Wicker noted in the March 11 *New York Times* that the news conference held by Menras and Debris in New York was studiously ignored by the networks and major newspapers. He also noted the increasing documentation of the fact that "American funds and companies helped build the 'tiger cages' and American personnel sometimes helped in the political roundups."

Antiwar POWs speak

The Vietnam war is similar to the American revolutionary war of 1776, in the opinion of Major Hubert Flesher, an ex-prisoner of war. "It was a conflict between the Vietnamese people, and whether you like it or not, it should have been theirs to decide," he told reporters.

As the military brass releases more of the ex-POWs, some of them, like Major Flesher, are criticizing the war. Most of the POWs are professional soldiers, but even these "lifers" were "split" on the question of the war, said Flesher.

"Many of us came to believe that possibly we had asserted our noses into somebody else's business."

Flesher also said he "personally didn't think there was any attempt at brainwashing" in the prison camps, but that "a lot of people came to the realization that we were not truly there to defend the rights of the South Vietnamese people."

Regarding the question of amnesty for those who refused to take part in the war, Major Flesher said, "There were a lot of young men who were honestly opposed to this war and were not able or willing to have themselves involved in a situation where possibly they would be killing other people for

a cause they didn't believe in."

He said he was not opposed to amnesty for such persons.

An article in the March 11 *New York Times* contrasted the views of two returning POWs. One, Lieutenant Colonel Alan Brunstrom, said he "believed 100 percent" in the war, always referring to his North Vietnamese captors as "gooks."

But the other, Captain Lynn Guenther, felt the war might have been a "waste." He said that the grouping of antiwar POWs in his camp was enlarged by new prisoners captured since the resumption of bombing of North Vietnam in April 1972, and that this generated greater discussion of the war.

"A lot of them were so mad at the futility of what we were doing that it didn't take much to get things going," he said.

Guenther was among the inmates who signed several public statements criticizing the bombing of North Vietnam. He defended his right to take such stands on the basis of his right of free speech.

In addition, Guenther praised the Vietnamese for providing what he felt was "outstanding treatment" of the prisoners.

N.Y. meeting salutes int'l abortion struggle

By CLAIRE MORIARTY

NEW YORK, March 13—"For a change, we're on the inside while they picket outside," Florynce Kennedy said of the meager anti-abortion forces who picketed the March 10 meeting here on the international abortion rights struggle. The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) sponsored the event.

Inside Town Hall a crowd of more than 600 gathered to celebrate the Jan. 22 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion and to use that victory to boost the international movement to win women's right to choose.

Dr. Barbara Roberts, one of WONAAC's national coordinators, opened the program with a decisive attack on the anti-abortion laws in other countries. "These laws," she said, "make women slaves to biology."

Roberts pledged WONAAC's active support in the current international fight against these repressive laws. The worldwide solidarity of women would demonstrate, she continued,

freed by anyone else but themselves," she added.

A participant in the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal and a defender of the Algerian revolution, Halimi also explained how the oppression of women is rooted in capitalist society.

Michelle Chevalier received a standing ovation when she rose to speak. After a moving narration of the arrest and trial of herself and her daughter, she declared her rejection of the suspended fine. "I am not guilty," she said in French, "it is the state that is guilty!"

Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) also spoke at the meeting. She said the so-called right-to-life forces operate under a misnomer: "It is the women's movement that supports the right to live—in economic, social, and political justice!"

Ellen May of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Law described her country's abortion policy as "Trudeau's roulette." "Women who have abortions," Prime Minister Trudeau has said, "have to account



Town Hall rally listens to speech by Gisele Halimi

Militant/Mark Satinoff

that "no woman is an island."

The highlights of the evening were speeches by three leaders of the abortion struggle in France.

Claude Servan-Schreiber, a journalist in France and foreign correspondent for *Ms.* magazine, reported there are two kinds of abortion for French women: the safe, inexpensive, illegal abortion for the rich and well-informed; and the dangerous, costly, illegal abortion for the poor.

Servan-Schreiber described the group she works with, Choisir (Choice), as both an abortion rights organization and a defense movement for those prosecuted under France's archaic abortion law.

Her sentiments were echoed by Gisele Halimi, cofounder of Choisir and attorney for Marie-Claire and Michelle Chevalier, the key defendants in the recent French abortion trial. In 1972, 16-year-old Marie-Claire was prosecuted in Bobigny, a suburb northeast of Paris, for having an illegal abortion. Because of broad support for her case, she was acquitted. Her mother, Michelle, went on trial as an accomplice and received a suspended fine.

"Choisir," Halimi told the Town Hall meeting, "used the Bobigny trial to end the humiliation and loneliness of women dragged before the court [for having had abortions]."

"The anti-abortion law," she continued, "is the cornerstone of women's oppression. We do not belong to ourselves." Turning the tables and putting the repressive law itself on trial placed French women on the offensive, she explained. "There is no example in history of an oppressed group being

for their act in the same way criminals do."

May invited those at the Town Hall rally to attend the Canadian women's abortion conference to be held in Toronto, March 16-18. "The U.S. victory is only the first!" she said.

Maureen Blackburn, a Scottish woman active in the fight for free abortion under Britain's national health service, denounced "the oldest democracy in the world" for its discriminatory abortion policy. The deaths of countless women at the hands of back-alley abortionists should be evidence enough to put the British government on trial for "womanslaughter," she said.

Jean Toche of the Ad Hoc Artists Committee for Freedom read greetings to the meeting from the defense committee for Dr. Willy Peers, the Belgian facing trial for performing abortions.

Continued on page 22



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Claude Servan-Schreiber (l) and Michelle Chevalier addressing N.Y. meeting.

A MILITANT INTERVIEW: SRI LANKA: ISLAND BEHIND BARS

By DAVE FRANKEL

The island-country of Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) lies in the Indian Ocean off the southeastern coast of India. It has a population of 13,000,000, about 16,000 of whom are political prisoners. Recently, I interviewed Vijaya Wickrama of the London-based Ceylon Solidarity Campaign to find out more about events in Sri Lanka.

Wickrama described the promises of the "left wing" coalition government that was elected in 1970, especially in regard to creating new jobs, solving the problem of unemployment, and carrying out a land reform. The coalition government inherited an economic crisis that had been building up for a long time, but it was unwilling to carry out any measures that would challenge capitalism in Ceylon. Instead, said Wickrama, "The first thing the government asked for was for the people to make sacrifices, to 'tighten their belts.'"

This was especially disillusioning for many of the young people who had supported the electoral front led by Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the present prime minister, on the basis of its promises. The literacy rate in Sri Lanka is 84 percent, compared with 26 percent for India, and its system of free higher education had resulted in thousands of college graduates for whom there were no jobs. "University graduates were working as bus conductors," Wickrama said, "and the only proposal of the government was to retire government employees at 55 instead of 60."

The government's land reform program was as bad as its employment proposals. It put a ceiling of 50 acres on land holdings, and then announced that this would only apply to individual landowners, not to public companies. "So, before the law went into effect, the landowners formed public companies with their relations," explained Wickrama.

"The official rate of unemployment in Sri Lanka is about 12 percent, but the real figures are probably double this," Wickrama continued. This situation came about as part of a chronic financial crisis. Since 1960 Ceylon has had a trade and balance of payments deficit for every year except one. The government resorted to continual loans from international financial organizations.

But in 1970 when the government applied to the World Bank for another loan, the World Bank insisted that it impose an immediate wage freeze, slash all government expenditures, and remove all government subsidies on food items. This program placed the whole burden of resolving the economic crisis on the Ceylonese workers and peasants.

Wickrama pointed out that the economic crisis was an artificial one.

"Half of Ceylon's imports," he said, "are rice, but in the past Ceylon was a rice-producing country that fed itself. Its fishing industry is also neglected. It is more profitable for the owners to produce tea and rubber for export, but the natural resources to solve the economic problems exist."

State of emergency

In the spring of 1971 the government moved to subdue in advance the opposition that it feared its economic program would provoke. On March 6 a group of people ostensibly protesting the Vietnam war attacked the American embassy with Molotov cocktails. The government used this provocation to justify a declaration of a state of emergency. It accused a group of revolutionary youth known as the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front) of the March 6 assault.

Thousands of JVP members were arrested in a nationwide dragnet. Finally, the JVP attacked about 50 police stations on April 5, but its resistance did not last very long. It was these events that the government later described as a guerrilla uprising.

Under the Public Security Act, which the Bandaranaike government had promised to repeal, the police were given the power to arrest and detain people without charge, and to bury people without any death certificate—in effect, giving them a license to kill. Press censorship was introduced as well, and the economic program demanded by the World Bank was put into effect.

By September 1971 the government subsidy on rice had been cut, a wage freeze imposed, and milk, cloth, baby foods, and other imported goods put on ration. Prices have gone up too. Powdered chili, one of the essential ingredients of curry, a staple food in Ceylon, sold for two rupees in 1970. "Today it sells for 40 rupees," according to Wickrama.

According to the latest government figures, which were released in September 1971, there were some 16,000 prisoners being held as a result of the JVP "uprising." Some 30 to 40,000 people were killed in the course of the government's terror campaign, and arrests are still going on.

Under the Criminal Justice Commission Act, special courts were set up. In these courts, Wickrama explained, "confessions made by whomsoever, and in whatsoever circumstances—these are the very words of the law—are admissible as evidence. You can imagine under what circumstances they're talking about." Furthermore, it is up to the defendant to prove that a confession attributed to him was not in fact made if such a confession is repudiated. The accused has

no right to cross examine witnesses or to confront the accuser.

Elections postponed

In May 1972 the government changed the name of Ceylon to Sri Lanka, and postponed the elections scheduled for 1975 to 1979. Most recently, the government has proposed a bill known as the Press Council bill. This bill would allow the government to appoint a four-member press council which, in order "to ensure the freedom of the press," "to prevent abuse of that freedom," and "to safeguard the character of Ceylon's press in accordance with the highest professional standards," would have the power to determine what type of news articles would be allowed to appear in the press.

There has been some resistance to the government repression. On Oct. 18 one million people participated in a hunger strike, and 300,000 plantation workers went out on strike in response to a call by the Ceylon Human and Democratic Rights Organization. This call had the support of lawyers, trade unionists, and one member of parliament.

The government has attempted to use the Tamil minority, which comprises about 20 percent of the population of Sri Lanka, as a scapegoat for the country's problems. Tamil workers are blamed for the lack of jobs, and discrimination against them is encouraged by the government in a number of ways.

The Tamil language is denied the status of an official language, and some one-million Tamils who are the descendants of plantation workers who came to Ceylon from India in the nineteenth century have been denied citizenship. The government is attempting to deport some of these people to India.

Both the Soviet Union and China have supported the Bandaranaike regime's crackdown. The Soviet Union sent MIG jets and other arms in April 1971 in response to the Ceylonese government's claim that it was facing an uprising. Last September the Chinese government sent five frigates to Bandaranaike, along with 150-million rupees.

Wickrama has just finished an extensive speaking tour of the U. S. and Canada. He stressed the fact that the U. S. is today the largest arms-supplier of the Ceylonese government, and that public opinion here could have an important impact on the treatment that political prisoners in Sri Lanka receive.

People interested in receiving the bi-monthly newsletter of the Ceylon Solidarity Campaign or in making contributions to the defense of political prisoners in Sri Lanka should write to the Campaign at No. 9 Dennington Park Mansions, London N. W. 6.

UMW sets elections, Boyle is accused in murders

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Feb. 15 issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* reports that elections for all officers in nine of the 24 districts of the UMW have been set for this summer by the newly elected UMW International leadership.

Eight of the nine districts involved had been held under trusteeship by the old UMW leadership headed by W. A. (Tony) Boyle and before him by John L. Lewis. Under this system the districts were run by officials appointed directly from the International headquarters.



W. A. Boyle

In the ninth district a 1970 election was invalidated by a federal court because of irregularities in the way it was conducted. The scheduling of district elections is in keeping with preelection pledges made by Arnold Miller, the new UMW president, and with a number of court rulings that had found the trusteeships illegal.

Other developments since then have kept the spotlight on the corrupt and criminal nature of the Boyle leadership. On March 9 UMW leaders announced that they had filed a \$10-million lawsuit against 10 members of Boyle's old executive board who had been removed by Miller. Miller charged in a statement that "for the price of a fat paycheck and an inflated expense account" the old executive board "let the former officers bleed this union dry."

On the same day more serious charges than misappropriation of union funds were made against Boyle. He was implicated by special prosecutor Richard Sprague in the murder of Joseph Yablonski and Yablonski's wife and daughter. Yablonski had lost a campaign to oust Boyle from the UMW presidency three weeks before his murder in 1969 and was pressing charges of fraud in that campaign—charges that were later upheld.

Sprague charged in the trial of a former officer of UMW District 19 who is accused of hiring the men who carried out the killings that \$20,000 "was personally transferred on Boyle's orders to District 19," and was used to pay for the murders.

Boyle's lawyer conceded to reporters that Boyle had approved a \$20,000 loan to District 19 in the fall of 1969, but denied Sprague's other charges. Then, on March 13, one of the men already convicted of the Yablonski murders made a confession during the current trial that named Boyle as the man behind the killings.



Political prisoners in government concentration camp.

By DICK ROBERTS

MARCH 13—Partial steps have been taken to resolve the most serious monetary crisis since the 1930s. But any success central bankers have in restoring order to the capitalist world's deeply shaken financial system is likely to be short-lived.

The steps so far include a joint float of six Common Market currencies against the dollar and revaluation of the West German mark in relation to the other five currencies by 3 percent. Both moves were announced

exchanged for a given amount of dollars.

Central banks were obligated to maintain these fixed rates. At the beginning of the sixties, for example, the West German mark was fixed at the rate of 4.2 marks per dollar. If there would be a large demand for marks, threatening to drive its exchange rate higher than that, Bonn would intervene to supply marks in exchange for dollars and keep the exchange rate stable.

In turn, gold was fixed at \$35 per ounce.

This system had real advantages for opening up world trade following the

for each currency in relation to the dollar would be established by supply and demand. As more and more marks were demanded for dollars, to continue the same example, the exchange rate of the mark rose to 3.31 marks per dollar.

It took more dollars to get fewer marks.

Translated into goods, this would mean that a Volkswagen that sold for \$1,500 in 1960 would now cost \$1,900, 28 percent more, provided VW maintained its original prices.

It is easy to see that huge trading advantages and disadvantages are contained in the question of currency

the dollar must remain the predominant world currency.

Yet the forces of dollar inflation are insuperable. It was the round of price increases announced immediately after Nixon's move from Phase 2 to Phase 3, along with announcements of a record trade deficit for 1972, that upset money markets in February. The Smithsonian agreement was destroyed, and the dollar was devalued for the second time.

But this could provide little calm as economic statistics piled up. The new "Volcker agreement" lasted exactly 18 days.

● In January alone, food prices rose by 2.3 percent, the most since the Labor Department started keeping records of food prices in 1952. Taking the last two months, the food component of the consumer price index is increasing at the rate of 23 percent per year.

● No end to this is in sight. The wholesale price index for food and farm items jumped 2.9 percent in January. Over the past six months, farm crop prices have been rising at an annual average rate of 18 percent.

● Dollar devaluation contributes to this inflation. Cheaper prices of U.S. farm goods in Europe has raised U.S. agricultural exports to a record \$11-billion this year. Only four years ago it was less than \$6-billion.

This export of farm goods reduces the supply in this country and drives up food prices. At the same time the prices of all goods imported into this country are raised by devaluation.

● And it's not only food. Industrial raw material prices rose 5.3 percent in February alone, 31.5 percent in the

INTERNAT'L MONETARY CRISIS DEEPEST SINCE THE 1930s

March 12.

The six nations in the float are West Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Denmark.

The joint float means the central banks of these six countries will no longer support the dollar by buying up dollars in foreign exchange markets. But they will intervene to maintain fixed relations (parities) between the six currencies.

These moves will halt the deluge of dollars that has been pouring into European central banks as a result of their dollar-support operations. The unwanted dollars exacerbate inflation in the recipient countries. At the same time, the dollar's value keeps eroding because of the U.S. inflation and periodic devaluations.

Nevertheless, the decision to float was reluctant because it will bring a further rise in the exchange rates of the European currencies in relation to the dollar. This means in effect another devaluation of the dollar. It will cheapen U.S. goods in Europe and make European goods more expensive in the United States.

The joint float consequently marks a new stage in the development of European-wide cooperation in international competition, although terms could not be worked out to include Britain, Ireland, and Italy in the float.

On this side of the Atlantic there were increasing calls for protectionist measures to guard the U.S. market against foreign imports. Throughout most of the postwar period, for example, the *New York Times* has favored free international trade without quotas or tariff restrictions. This stand reflected the dominant position of U.S. imperialism in the world market.

A mark of how the economic position of the United States has slipped is that this influential newspaper for the first time favors an "agreed method of protecting ourselves from trade's adverse effects."

The crisis of international finance inexorably draws the capitalist powers toward all-out trade warfare. Rising barriers to international trade and investment now being discussed could precipitate international recession on a scale unseen in the postwar epoch.

'Fixed' currencies

One of the central issues in the closed-door meetings of world bankers today is the question of "fixed" versus "floating" exchange rates. A closer look at this question will shed light on the new dollar crisis and its underlying causes.

The 1944 Bretton Woods conference established a system of fixed exchange rates based on the dollar. This meant that a given quantity of currencies

war, with the United States in the best position to profit from expanded world trade. It meant that businesses could conduct international transactions with the reasonable assurance that changes in currency values would not undermine their profits.

Moreover, dollars were "as good as gold"—since you could always get one ounce of gold for \$35—and consequently world trade and investment could take place mainly in dollars. U.S. monopoly ultimately poured

exchange rates!

In fact, even under the circumstances of floating currencies, central banks continued to intervene in order to prevent too wide parity changes from developing. This is the "dirty float."

Because of the continuing unpredictable fluctuations in currency parities, a floating system of exchange rates jeopardizes world trade. No one can foretell how much and when currencies will change in value. A business investment made on the prospect of sales



\$80-billion abroad in foreign investments.

But this system of fixed exchange rates based on the dollar collapsed in August of 1971. It was destroyed by the long-term U.S. balance of payments deficit produced by foreign investment, huge overseas military expenditures, and declining U.S. competitiveness in world trade, combined with inflation of the dollar.

For if the dollar is inflated, it means that the billions of dollars held abroad lose their purchasing power. Instead of holding onto dollars, foreign central bankers more and more traded them in for gold.

U.S. gold holdings declined from \$22.8-billion in 1957 to \$10.2-billion when Nixon slammed down the "gold window" in the New Economic Policy. This made dollars no longer convertible to gold.

NEP floated dollars in world exchange.

This meant that the exchange rate



a month, six months, or even several years in the future is open to substantial danger if currency exchange rates change greatly over that period.

Thus in Washington in December 1971, central bankers attempted to establish new fixed exchange rates based around the rates established during the float of the dollar. This was the "Smithsonian Accord," termed by Nixon the most historic monetary achievement ever. The Bretton Woods system had lasted 27 years. The Smithsonian agreement lasted 14 months.

U.S. inflation

It was blasted apart last month by the continued inflation of the U.S. economy and by bigger than ever U.S. trade and payments deficits.

The dollar must occupy a central place in world finance no matter what system technically hinges on it. There are billions of dollars invested abroad, there are these and additional dollars loaned abroad ("Eurodollars"), there are the added billions that flow abroad when foreign goods are sold in the United States.

Because of the predominance of U.S. investments in the world market, and because of the predominance of the U.S. market within the world market,

last year.

Inflation will continue to jeopardize exchange rates. At the same time, by attracting more and more cheaper foreign goods into this country, inflation will sharpen the balance of trade deficit. More and more unwanted dollars will flow abroad.

On March 2, when Bonn removed its support for the dollar, the exchange rate fell as low as 2.75 marks per dollar. In terms of the hypothetical Volkswagen already cited, this would up its price from the \$1,900 Smithsonian level to \$2,300—\$800 or 53 percent above the level at the beginning of the last decade.

Little wonder that West Germany sopped up the record \$2.7-billion the previous day in order to protect its exports. Since March 1, foreign exchange markets have been closed. They are slated to reopen March 19 on the basis of new "fixed" and "floating" agreements to be made.

Solution?

Will the new agreements work any better than the last ones? There are too many variables to be sure.

What is most significant is the increased danger of a world credit collapse that is contained in each new

Continued on page 22

UAW officials hope for 'peaceful settlement'

Issues in auto workers' contract talks

By FRANK LOVELL

This is "contract year" in the auto industry, and when the current three-year contract expires on Sept. 14 the basic provisions of a new agreement will be settled—if the present course of secret informal negotiations continues. But that is far from certain.

Always in the past, signs of settlement—with or without a strike directed at one of the major auto corporations—could be clearly read at the beginning of the year in the public announcements of the corporate heads of the industry and the top officials of the United Auto Workers union. This year is no exception.

On Jan. 10 Richard Gerstenberg, chairman of General Motors Corporation, suggested a simple one-year extension of the existing contract. He called it a "good contract," allowing for a 3 percent annual wage raise based on rising productivity plus cost-of-living increases geared to the Labor Department's Consumer Price Index.

Earlier the same week Henry Ford II, chairman of the Ford Motor Company, had indicated agreement with the idea of extending the present contract.

Top UAW officials were talking about a one-year contract as a possible answer to wage controls. They have since become more optimistic over prospects of a "peaceful settlement."

The public announcement by GM and Ford executives served to ratify the tacit understanding that had been reached at that early stage of the negotiations, namely, that wages would not be a major issue in the 1973 settlement.

Since January the UAW has held two precontract conferences. The first was the Skilled Trades Conference, attended by 1,200 delegates, in New Orleans, Feb. 6-8. The other was a conference of 593 local officials repre-

industry exceed \$5, "the result of two UAW-won pay boosts under the union's current auto industry contracts. . . a three cents an hour cost-of-living pay increase which went into effect in December and the recent annual improvement factor (productivity) wage boost amounting to an average of about 15 cents an hour."

For the 1.2 million production workers the average wage is about \$4.83. Pay scales of the 250,000 skilled workers raise the average.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock "emphasized that the wage increases resulting in the new average of over \$5 an hour are non-inflationary," the

funds; or a better health program. The details of such schemes remain to be described, possibly at the special UAW convention in March. In the past this has served to divert attention from more specific goals.

At the conference of production workers in Atlanta the leadership anticipated more trouble than at the skilled trades conference. This was the first such conference ever called by the UAW. Even though the vast majority of UAW members are production workers, this conference was smaller, more carefully controlled than that of the skilled trades. All 593 delegates were elected local officials, not special-

ness of the corporation heads in Detroit to settle. This plan, which isolates separate plants for one-at-a-time settlements, weakens the power of the union.

Both the UAW and the auto industry are publicly conscious. What happens in auto is thought to have a greater impact on the national economy than a strike in other industries. For this reason the auto union, under the Reuther leadership, for 25 years followed a strategy of never striking the industry, always choosing instead a "target company" to test the strength of the union.

The same top officials remained in office after Reuther's accidental death in 1970, and their basic strategy remains essentially the same. But Woodcock appears now to have narrowed the traditional method of dealing with the corporations by limiting strike actions to single plants.

This more cautious approach was tested in the series of "weekend" strikes last fall against General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD) in an effort to force the corporation to abide by the existing contract. The isolated strikes failed. The corporation continues to ignore established production standards, relentlessly speeds up assembly lines, arbitrarily changes job classifications and reduces the size of work crews.

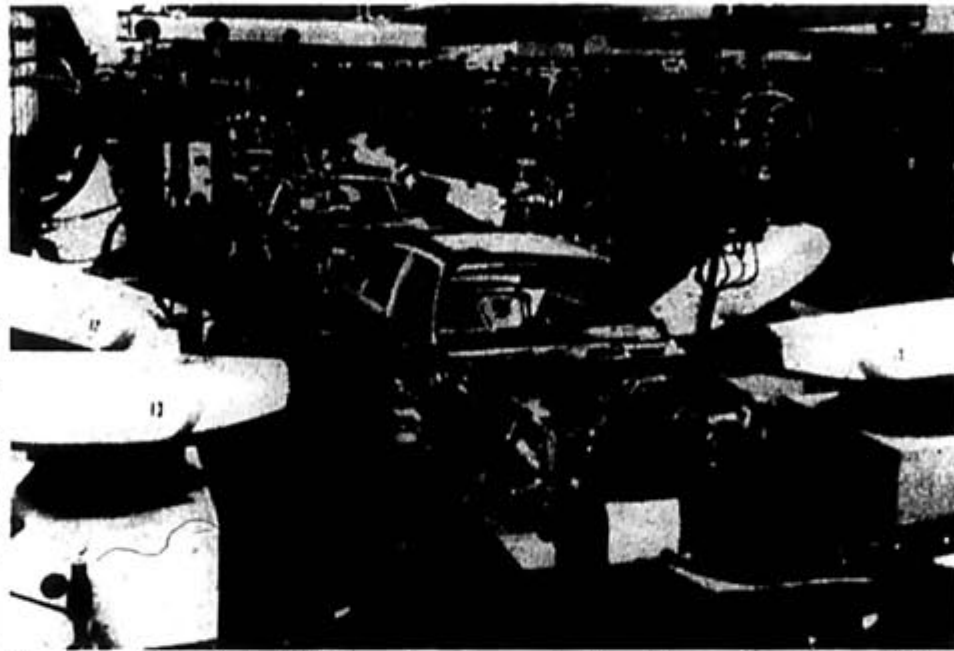
This then becomes the central question for the auto union: can the union protect the rights and working conditions of its members?

The times are changing from what they have been over the past 25 years. The UAW no longer negotiates in a rapidly expanding industry, one that is able to grant a few wage concessions and some fringe benefits in exchange for "industrial harmony."

The U.S.-based auto corporations are maneuvering for a greater share of the world market in competition with companies in other countries. The drive is on to turn out more cars with fewer workers. This is not conducive to "industrial harmony."

Under these conditions UAW negotiators and industry officials cannot easily reach a settlement that will pacify the auto workers, especially those on the production lines.

Whether the auto corporations in the course of negotiations this summer decide to provoke a UAW strike will depend upon the rate of inflation in the national economy; the outcome of some hard-fought strike battles of other unions now in progress or in the making; the degree of governmental intervention in wage settlements; the political evolution of major sectors of the union movement, including the UAW; and the ability of rank-and-file workers to organize within their unions for their own self-defense.



'The central issue for the UAW: can the union protect the rights and working conditions of its members?'

union paper said.

At the skilled trades conference the demands that reportedly aroused the most enthusiasm were the right to refuse overtime work (denied under the existing contract); union control over the farming out of work by the corporations to small, often nonunion, subcontractors (a perennial demand of the skilled trades); and retirement at any age after 30 years of service ("30 and Out," a demand in the 1970 negotiations).

When some delegates proposed that the UAW demand wages for skilled craftsmen comparable to what is paid for the same work in the construction industry, Woodcock responded sharply. Such a demand at this time would be "divisive," he said, widening the pay differential between skilled and unskilled workers in the union. This would cause serious conflicts as anyone should know. That ended the discussion on wage increases.

In the tradition of former UAW President Walter Reuther, Woodcock spoke about his "plan" for formal negotiations this summer. He wants to submit some sort of "profit sharing" plan (an idea Reuther often talked about a decade ago), a way to more equitably distribute the \$3-billion profits raked in by the auto industry in 1972.

The broad outlines of the Woodcock plan remain vague, leaving options open to the companies. They can share some of their surplus profits with the public by reducing the price of cars, thus contributing to the fight against inflation. They may elect to share their profits with the workers through an annual profit-distribution plan; or through an employee stock purchasing program, which was offered by the companies in previous negotiations and is now available to salary employees; or by contributing a fixed portion of annual profits to the pension program, the Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB)

ly elected conference delegates from the assembly lines.

Critics at the conference charged that it was "handpicked." Nevertheless, there was wide-ranging discussion on speedup, and demands that the UAW free itself to strike at anytime against unjust disciplinary action by the companies, their arbitrary decisions to speedup assembly lines, and their disregard of safety standards required by the Occupational Safety and Health Act.

More than 100 delegates spoke on these issues, demanding that the grievance procedure be changed to require proof of wrongdoing before management is allowed to impose discipline (layoff or firing) upon any UAW member.

One delegate from a Kansas City GM assembly plant local charged the UAW International leadership of endless talk while line crews are cut, production raised, and workers disciplined. This was the tenor of most remarks by delegates. They were bitter over unhealthy and unsafe work and demanded more shop committeemen ("A committeeman for every foreman") to guard working conditions.

In response to these grievances, Woodcock made the ringing declaration: "We are going to demand and get equity on working conditions and economics." He failed to indicate how, except to promise that health and safety on the job would get "overriding priority in 1973."

It was clear from Woodcock's remarks at the conference and to reporters later that his primary purpose is to work out a method of settling local grievances after signing a national contract that will avoid a general tie-up of the industry or of any one of the major corporations. His scheme is to stagger the dates for local settlements, apparently choosing to ignore the fact that such settlements depend upon the willing-



senting production workers, held in Atlanta, Feb. 16-17. Both were preparatory to the UAW Special Collective Bargaining Convention in Detroit, March 22-24.

If there was a "central theme" at the skilled trades and production workers conferences, it was "money is not the big issue." This was the general idea top UAW officials wanted to get across. The media has widely publicized this as the "consensus."

The Jan.-Feb. issue of *Solidarity*, official UAW publication, announced that average hourly straight-time wages of 700,000 workers in the auto



Leonard Woodcock

Women in L.A. urge equal job opportunity

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—Women have been fighting back against oppression on many fronts and have won important victories, such as the right to abortion. But they are still second-class citizens, particularly in the kind of work they do and what they get paid for it.

A group of nearly 40 angry women testified to this at recent hearings held here by the California Commission on the Status of Women. The purpose of the hearings was to make recommendations to the state legislature and other public and private institutions for changes that would promote equality for women.

Thirty-seven percent of the full-time work force and 56 percent of the part-time force of the state civil service employees are women. However, "Women tend to be clustered in clerical positions and seldom appear as decision makers or in jobs traditionally filled by men," according to Doris Seward of the Women's Equity Action League of Whittier, Calif.

"Their salaries also tend to be lower than those of men, despite federal and state equal pay laws," she said, "because classification systems set salaries differently for jobs predominantly held by women compared to those held by men."

Yolanda Nava of the Chicana Service Action Center testified that the stereotype of the Chicana who stays home having babies and making tortillas is all wrong. Forty-nine percent of all Chicanas over 18 are in the work force, but more than half of these women are in low-paying jobs.

Median earnings for the Chicana factory worker are \$3,590, and the income for domestic workers is much lower. Chicana clerical workers (32 percent of all Chicanas in the work force) earn \$4,484.

Nava pointed out that 45 percent of Chicano families below the poverty level are headed by women. "Poverty, then, is the Chicana's reward for full-time employment," she said.

The position of women on the University of California at Los Angeles faculty has deteriorated since 1940, according to testimony by attorney Timi Hallem, a 1972 graduate of UCLA law school.

Only 4.5 percent of full professors at UCLA are women, Hallem said. "In 1940 12 percent of the faculty were women, but in 1971 only 6 percent were women."

Patsy Ann Beer, a Steno II for the department of corrections, said, "Clerical is forever clerical. We are limited to promotion within clerical, and there is no bridge out." She concluded that "the only alternative I see for change is to join and become an active participant in a clerical trade union."

Data obtained by the hearings is available from the Commission on the Status of Women, 1025 P St., Room 340, Sacramento, Calif. 95814.

Conference hits sex discrimination

Stewardesses demand rights

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK, March 11—The first national conference of Stewardesses for Women's Rights ended here today with plans to fight the blatant sex discrimination stewardesses face from the airlines.

More than 50 stewardesses and former stewardesses participated in the two-day conference. Some came from as far away as San Francisco, Seattle, and Florida.

In her opening remarks to the meeting, Sandra Jarrell, later elected national coordinator of the group, said:

"Our conditioning has been so thorough that few of us make a critical examination of the structure in which we earn our livelihood. . . . The airline industry has spent millions with all the mass media, creating and perpetuating the glamorous image [of stewardesses]. It is as though they sought to sell tickets by suggesting to the male passenger that when he boards the aircraft he is entering one of Hugh Hefner's airborne playboy clubs. And I don't need to tell you who the bunnies are!"

During the panels on legal rights, communications, and consciousness raising, stewardesses discussed some of the problems they face: being treated as sex objects by the airlines and many male passengers; arbitrary grooming rules not imposed upon male employees; losing their jobs if



Organization panel at stewardesses conference

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

they become pregnant; lack of advancement.

Founded in 1972, Stewardesses for Women's Rights has already filed legal suits to win reinstatement of women who were unjustly fired and to challenge degrading job rules regulating personal appearance.

The stewardesses are also demanding that they be respected as professionals. "We are independent, adult women who know how to administer first aid, deliver babies, deal with hijackers, and in case of an accident, evacuate a burning airplane in 90 seconds," Jarrell said. The purpose of the airline industry, she added, "is to provide the public with safe, comfortable transportation, not to cater

to the sexual fantasies of male passengers."

A number of conference participants said they were active in women's liberation groups, such as the National Organization for Women (NOW), and in their unions. One woman said she worked last fall in support of the Michigan referendum to liberalize the abortion law.

The conference established task forces on legal rights, health and safety, public relations, and other issues. The next national conference will be in Chicago in September.

To contact Stewardesses for Women's Rights, write P. O. Box 3235, Alexandria, Va. 22302.

Cutbacks protested in L.A.

S.F. march: 'Save our children'

By CAROLE SEIDMAN

SAN FRANCISCO, March 10—One thousand people, mostly working mothers and their children, demonstrated in a light rain today for a stop to the federal child-care cutbacks. All 32 children's centers in San Francisco were represented, many of them carrying their own banners on the march from Union Square in downtown San Francisco to the Civic Center plaza, where a rally took place.

At the Civic Center, parents from Oakland and surrounding Bay Area communities joined the action. Hundreds of children carried hand-painted signs saying "Save my center" and "Let me learn while my mother earns."

Perhaps the most prominent slogan of the day was "Child care, not welfare." This slogan reflects the attitude of the majority of parents using the public child-care centers. Many of them have recently come off the welfare rolls and do not want to go back on.

"Child care, not welfare" was also one of the enthusiastic chants along the march, along with "Save the children" and "ABC, one, two, three, child-care centers for you and me." The monitors for the march were parents and members of the American Federation of Teachers.

One of the best received speeches at the rally was by Sylvia Weinstein, a grandmother, representing the Parents Advisory Council. She compared the struggle of working women for child care to their earlier struggle for the eight-hour day and against child labor. She pointed to the ironic cruelty of the government in denying child care while making vast military expenditures.

The speech by James Ballard, president of the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, assured the parents full support from his union. The Teachers union and parent groups will be working together to pressure the city board of education to fund the centers if the

federal or state governments refuse.

One short-term victory has already been won. The state legislature has promised to maintain the centers until June 30, and Governor Ronald Reagan has endorsed this bill. This assurance of a three-month grace period has not convinced the parents that their struggle is over, however. Many are asking, "What about after June 30?"

By NED MOORE

LOS ANGELES—Some 2,000 poverty program workers and community recipients jammed into a church in the Black community Feb. 28 to protest the Nixon administration's cutbacks on social services.

Local politicians and poverty program administrators dominated the meeting, with suggestions ranging from high-level negotiations with Nixon's aides to a mass march on Washington, D.C. Although the angry and defiant tone of the speakers reflected the mood of the spirited audience, there were no specific action proposals presented.

The Citizens' Committee for Community Action sponsored the meeting, which was about 60 percent Black and 20 percent Chicano.

Since the meeting, some of those affected by the cutbacks have taken action. On March 6, about 300 working mothers and their children picketed the federal building here. They protested the impending government directive barring their use of child-care centers because they are working and not on welfare!

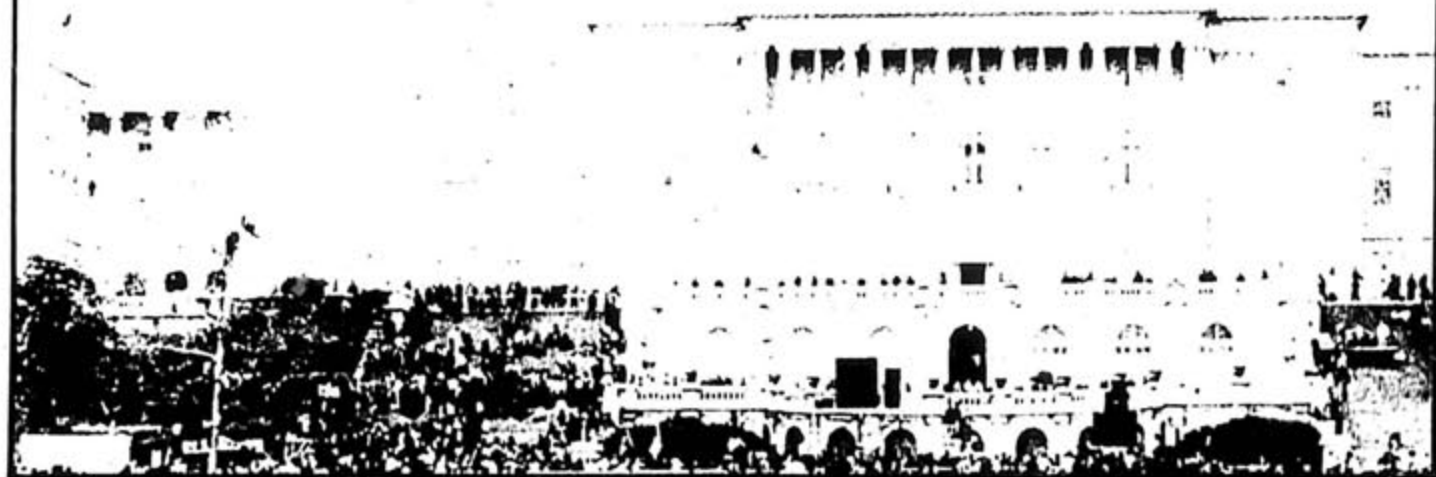
If Nixon has his way, programs serving 250,000 poor people in Los Angeles would be wiped out; 5,000 poverty workers would lose their jobs; and 700 program sites would be shut down.



March 2 child care demonstration in S.F.

Militant/Howard Petrick

WHAT A SOCIALIST WOULD SAY IN CONGRESS



By LINDA JENNESS

None of the congressional candidates put up by the Socialist Workers Party last year was elected. That is very unfortunate because it means that we have to suffer through yet another term of a Congress composed entirely of capitalist politicians.

A few Socialist Workers Party members in Congress—even just one—would make a big difference. Their votes might not be decisive, but you can be sure they would have an impact.

For one thing, all the dirty deals, the swindles, the rip-offs and the "understandings" between the capitalist politicians and the bankers and businessmen whose interests they go to Washington to serve would take place under the glaring spotlight of criticism from our socialist congresspeople and senators. No more would there be motions of "unanimous consent" to break strikes, such as the recent law passed to force workers on the Penn Central Railroad to go back to work, which was supported by both parties.

For the first time American working people would hear a voice from the halls of Congress speaking for them, defending their interests in an uncompromising way.

What a refreshing change it would be for us to have a legislator who hadn't sold out to the plutocracy, one who was loyal to the oppressed, to the working majority of this country, and not to the bosses! Even one such voice would have quite a salutary effect on the morale and on the confidence of the exploited and downtrodden of this land.

If I were a congresswoman today, I would like to make the following speech on the floor of the House of Representatives:

Mr. Speaker, Many people in this country are hoping that this Congress will pass some legislation that will make it a little easier for them to live a decent life.

Working people are hoping that something will be done to cut inflation and reduce the threat of unemployment. Their food budgets have been stretched to the breaking point, and in recent weeks the shocking in-

creases in the cost of feeding their families have made the weekly crisis at the food market even more acute.

The unemployed and their families are desperately looking for a way to defeat the president's plans to cut social welfare programs.

Millions of citizens—the antiwar majority—are hoping to see a foreign policy that will bring an end to the policy of sending young men overseas to interfere in the affairs of other peoples. They especially want to see an immediate and total end to U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia.

Black people, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Asian-Americans are very concerned about the continuing failure of this government to take action to end racial oppression.

And, as the courageous and determined Oglala Sioux Indians at Wounded Knee have demonstrated, the Indian people are determined to wrest control of their lives away from the government bureaucrats of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

There is deep concern about the failure of this government to provide the things that Americans want for themselves and their children: decent schools, safe and inexpensive mass transit, adequate housing, protection of our air and water and recreational areas from the polluters, some guarantees of our civil liberties.

A few weeks ago more than 10,000 people demonstrated on the steps of the capitol to demand that Congress act to halt the cutbacks contained in Nixon's new budget. Yet many of them went away bitterly disappointed at the prospects for congressional action. They waited in long lines and found many congressmen "out," unwilling to even talk to them about their demands.

On Inauguration Day, more than 100,000 antiwar demonstrators came to Washington to demand that the U.S. get "out now" from Southeast Asia. But U.S. aggression there continues, with billions of dollars being spent to maintain pro-U.S. regimes in the countries of Indochina. Senator George McGovern, who manipulated antiwar sentiment to get himself the

presidential nomination, made sure he was out of the country on that day so that he wouldn't have to join that protest.

Kennedy's olive branch

Why, even Senator Edward Kennedy, who likes to pretend he sides with the antiwar movement, last December shocked many people when he declared that "there is more good will in Congress now toward Mr. Nixon than perhaps at any time in public life." Kennedy said he would "extend the olive branch to the administration in the coming Congress."

"I am confident," said this ambitious politician, "that we can close ranks, and join together in launching a new and effective era of progress on every issue that matters deeply to our people."

This speech was made just a few days before Nixon ordered the savage and horrendous bombing of the cities of North Vietnam! Kennedy offered to close ranks with the number one war criminal of this era!

Yes, you Democrats and Republicans will always close ranks to defend this imperialist system. Sure you denounce each other for political advantage, and fall out over how best to maintain the capitalist system and its rapacious profits on a world scale, but you will "close ranks" in defense of this corrupt system every time.

We hear a lot about how Congress can't do anything to benefit the majority of Americans because the president has taken away congressional powers. Sure. It's easy for politicians seeking reelection to say, "Don't blame us, blame the president. We couldn't do anything anyway."

But this body cannot so easily escape responsibility. During the entire Vietnam war, the Congress could have voted to cut off funds for the war at any time. But it refused to do so, preferring instead to utter pious prayers for "peace," while allowing the carnage to continue.

Why, there is nothing in the way right now of this body passing a law that would impose a 100 percent tax on all profits made by industries that pollute. But you capitalist politicians

preserve your loyalties to the industrial polluters who bought your ticket to Washington, not to the people who suffer most from the fouling of our air and water.

This Congress is supposed to represent "the people." But the fact is that it represents the interests of some people at the expense of others. It is the working people and all other exploited and oppressed Americans who are getting short shrift from this ninety-third Congress.

In fact, this body is about as unrepresentative as it could be. Take a look at the Senate. It is all male, and with the exception of Senator Edward Brooke, all white. This "house of representatives" is 97 percent male, and less than four percent Black! How can this Congress claim to represent the American people?

Why, there are only two senators who are under 35 years of age, but two-thirds of the entire population is under 35, and the median age is only 28.

'Friends of labor'

Nor are there any working-class representatives. Oh, I know there are plenty of so-called friends of labor in these chambers, the kind of friends who vote for wage controls, the kind who vote "in the national interest" to break strikes.

But where are the workers themselves? There are no auto workers or secretaries here. Not to speak of unemployed, GIs, welfare mothers, or students. It seems as though everyone here is either a lawyer or a businessman.

As a matter of fact, it is hard for me to understand how members of Congress can even pretend to be concerned about the pressing problems confronting the majority of the American people. Senators and representatives have voted themselves \$42,500 in base pay, plus fringe benefits worth another \$8,500. Your salaries are higher than those of 99.5 percent of all American taxpayers.

What do you care about the quality of medical care, when as a member of Congress you can get free medical attention at taxpayers' expense. No wonder Congress hasn't acted on the urgent crisis facing the health care industry in this country!

Many Americans hold the belief that politicians are naturally crooks. After all, capitalist politicians lie and cheat



Militant/Dave Wulp

Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers candidate for president, debating Representative Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.) during 1972 campaign.

and steal, and get rich. Like crooks, they occasionally get caught.

We hear a lot about "law 'n' order" in these halls. But I agree with Mark Twain, who said that "it could probably be shown by facts and figures that there is no distinctly criminal class except Congress."

But I think that most people do not yet understand the depth of the corruption here. The sad fact is that the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties do not have to be bribed to vote for every bill; they have sold themselves to the powers-

that-be in advance. They have pledged to defend the interests of the ruling class, or they would never have won the nomination of the capitalist parties in the first place.

Of course, that is not to say that an "honest crook" would refuse to take a little something in the way of payment—"for the next campaign"—if the oil lobby, or the auto manufacturers, or Lockheed wants a particular bill approved without difficulty.

But the biggest crime of all committed by this Congress is its refusal to confront the needs of the majority of the American people with a meaningful program.

Mr. Speaker, neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have presented any plan to improve the lives of the American people. Therefore, on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, I am going to introduce the following legislative action program for this session. While my party has many measures it would like to see enacted, I would like to focus on these most urgent and immediate proposals.

'U.S. out of S.E. Asia'

Despite the talk of peace, the U.S. remains committed to propping up the hated Thieu regime and to maintaining a base of operations for the U.S. in Southeast Asia. Let's cut off all support to the Thieu regime, and get all the so-called civilian advisers out of Vietnam.

My legislation will immediately order all U.S. ships, troops, and planes out of all of Southeast Asia. In fact, I propose the closing down of all U.S. bases overseas, since those bases exist only in order to protect U.S. business interests and to protect unpopular governments from their own people.

The president has sent us a budget, which, he says, is designed to hold down inflation. He wants to cut back spending aimed at aiding the poor, the sick, and the unemployed. But he wants to increase military spending.

I do not accept Nixon's assumption that the main job of the government's financial policy should be to maximize the profits of the giant corporations. The interest of American working people would best be served by repealing the Economic Stabilization Act, which gives Nixon the authority to control wages. To end inflation, let's first cut off all funds to the Pentagon, since war spending is the chief cause of inflation.

Legislation I will introduce will make it mandatory for all union contracts to include cost-of-living-escalator clauses so that wages will go up with rises in prices.

To combat unemployment, let's reduce the work week, at no reduction in pay, so that the work will be shared.

I will submit a bill authorizing a federal public works program providing jobs for all those out of work. We will begin with a \$20-billion crash program—a fraction of what is now spent on instruments of war—to construct low-cost public housing.

This housing will be built in the ghettos and barrios of the nation, where the housing is worst. The type, design, and location of the housing will be determined by the Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans who will be occupying these new houses.

Preferential hiring

I will introduce a bill to require preferential hiring of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, and women, in all federally funded projects so as to help overcome years of deprivation and discrimination.

In addition, federal funds will be allocated immediately to be channeled into the Black communities to build decent hospitals and schools and other projects. These funds will be admin-

istered by the Black community.

The president now wants us to reinstitute the death penalty for "certain" crimes. This inhuman form of punishment has been used primarily against Blacks, against Chicanos, and against Puerto Ricans, while the wealthy and the privileged not only stay out of death row but often avoid prison altogether. Nixon's proposal to return to this savagery must be defeated.

Even though the Equal Rights Amendment has not yet been ratified—a fact that is of great concern to women—there is ample legal authority, such as Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, for strong legislation guaranteeing equal pay for equal work, and equal educational opportunities for all women.

I will also propose a bill to provide free child-care facilities, on a 24-hour basis, available to all children.

And, since some states are balking at the Supreme Court decision on abortion, let's enact a law guaranteeing every woman's right to abortion.

To protect Americans against the disaster of prolonged illness and the daily burdens stemming from inadequate and unavailable medical care, my legislation will socialize all the health industry, and provide free medical and dental care for all.

I am proposing a bill to roll back all rents on apartments to a maximum of 10 percent of family income.

I further will move for the immediate repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and all other laws restricting the right to strike and undermining union independence.

Federal legislation is desperately needed to halt the destruction of the environment. I am proposing a 100 percent federal tax on the profits of all industrial polluters. Under this bill all corporations will be compelled, under the threat of confiscation, to install pollution-control equipment and to meet standards set and enforced by committees of workers and consumers.

Finally, I am introducing legislation to abolish all taxes on incomes under \$15,000 a year, and a 100 percent tax on all incomes over \$30,000 a year.

Now, I know that many of you are convinced that such radical legislation as I have described will never get anywhere because it won't get support. Well, it may not get support from capitalist politicians. But when the American people compare my proposals for solving problems with the refusal of the Democrats and the Republicans to seriously confront these issues, I believe that this program will gain substantial support.

And I believe that millions of people will be willing to join the political and social struggles that will be necessary to get these measures enacted and carried out. The Socialist Workers Party will fight uncompromisingly until these goals are won.



Protesters in Washington, D.C., demand Congress act to halt cutbacks, Feb. 20, 1973.

N.Y. school bd. race

District 1 parents run on community-control slate

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK, March 13—Throughout the Lower East Side petitioners are gathering signatures for eight members of the community school board in District 1 who are seeking reelection. They are Bertram Beck, Lyle Brown, Pedro Cordero, Georgina Hoggard, Henry Ramos, the Rever-



Lyle Brown

Jose Gonzalez

end Eric Snyder, Frank Suarez, and Jane Tam.

They are all parents and are running on a program supporting more control by parents over the schools in the district. The district is predominantly Puerto Rican, with large Black and Chinese minorities.

The slate is campaigning to keep Luis Fuentes as the district's superintendent. A prominent spokesman for community control of schools in Black and Puerto Rican communities, he was appointed by the board last year. He



Georgina Hoggard

Jose Gonzalez

is the city's first Puerto Rican superintendent.

The eight candidates also support a \$42-million budget for the district, more than twice the present budget, in order to make badly needed improvements in the schools. These include adding more bilingual and bicultural programs.

Although Fuentes and the board are limited by inadequate funds, they proudly point to the gains they have been able to make. Of 11 new principals hired, in the last six months, four are Puerto Rican and three are Black. All were selected by parents.

A free breakfast program has been established in all the district's schools. New bilingual programs for both Spanish- and Chinese-speaking students were opened in 13 schools.

Sixty new Spanish-speaking teachers and 16 Chinese-speaking teachers were hired. They have insisted that no supervisory or paraprofessional personnel be hired without the approval of the parents in the school. The board is prevented by the 1969 decentralization law that established the community school boards from hiring, firing, or transferring licensed teachers.

The slate has received the endorsement of the Coalition for Education, a group of parents, community activists, paraprofessionals, and teachers in District 1. The coalition is helping out with the petitioning and is planning to publish literature to help publicize the campaign. The signatures must be filed by April 3. The election is May 1.

The eight candidates face fierce opposition from Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers. In a March 1 letter to all UFT members, Shanker appealed for funds to elect school board candidates approved by the UFT hierarchy.

A conference to discuss how students can help support the pro-community-control slate in District 1 will be held at JHS 71 (6th Street and Avenue B) March 31 beginning at 11 a.m. Luis Fuentes and Miriam Gonzalez, president of the Parents Council in District 1, will be among the speakers. Initial sponsors are the Coalition for Education in District 1, LUCHA (New York University), Union Estudiantil Pedro Albizu Campos (Queens College), Puerto Rican Organization (York College), and the Young Socialist Alliance. For more information come to 105 Avenue B (between 6th and 7th streets).

He makes it clear that these do not include "community-control advocates who have fanned the flames of conflict in the past and who—if elected—will use the full powers of the City against us." He charges that in District 1 "Luis Fuentes builds a tyranny of racism and turmoil."

At a Feb. 28 meeting of UFT members in District 1 Shanker called for an opposition slate to the pro-community-control candidates. Claudio Tavarez, a paraprofessional in PS 63 and a UFT member, told this reporter that "one teacher asked Shanker if the teachers' problems would be solved by removing Fuentes. Shanker replied, 'Yes. You get rid of Fuentes and that bunch of nuts on the school board and your problems will be solved. Even if the class size gets bigger it will be worth it if we get rid of Fuentes.'

"This really shows where Shanker stands on improving education," Tavarez said. "It is interesting to note that 72 teachers in District 1 were axed last year by the board of education as part of its budget cuts. Shanker didn't lift a finger about it. But Fuentes and the board found money in their own budget to keep these teachers on. They feel that smaller class size is important."



Frank Suarez

Jose Gonzalez

N.Y. SWP blasts racist school boycott

By HUGH MORGAN

NEW YORK, March 13—Whether Blacks are fighting for decent housing, against welfare cutbacks, or to gain control of the schools in the Black community, the enemies they confront are the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. That's what Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, told a March 10 meeting called by the Committee of Concerned Black Activists to discuss the prospect of a Black party.

Blacks need an independent party, Oliver said, not connected in any way to the Democratic or Republican parties. And, he emphasized, unlike those two parties, a Black party must not be a vote-catching machine. "We need a party," Oliver said, "that will be able to organize the struggles of the Black community."

Jesse Gray, who has the New York Black Assembly's endorsement in his bid for the Democratic nomination for mayor, said he supported Oliver's ideas "in principle." But, he said, "we have to be pragmatic." Following the path outlined by Oliver will leave activists "isolated like the Socialist Workers Party," Gray said.

Arguing that it is necessary to participate in the Democratic Party because

that's where most Black people are, Gray said, "We need to build a popular front."

Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton and former State Assemblyman Waldaba Stewart also spoke at the March 10 meeting.

Earlier in the week Oliver visited the Hunter College campus, where he helped campaign for Ruth Osmundsen, the Young Socialist candidate for student government president.

On March 8, Oliver and Maxine Williams, SWP candidate for Brooklyn borough president, issued a statement condemning the racist Canarsie school boycott and calling upon all other candidates and public officials to join them in supporting the Black community's right to decide where Black children will attend school.

Oliver also issued a statement March 12 solidifying with the struggles of tenants organizations throughout the city and endorsing the Metropolitan Council on Housing's 'Tenants' Bill of Rights.

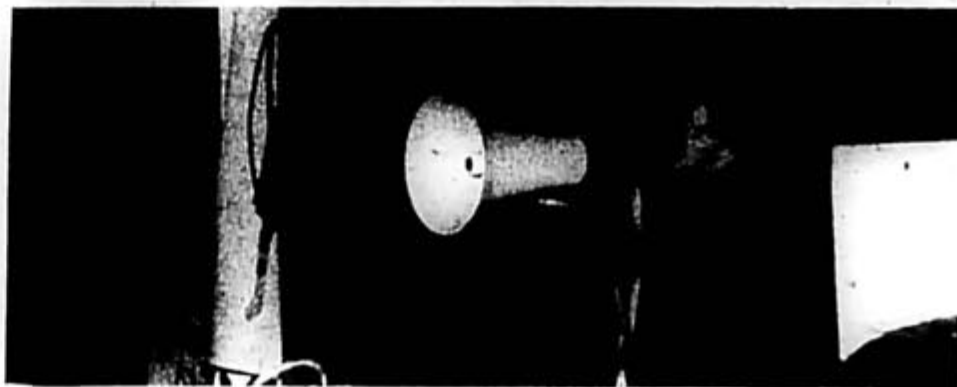
Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for city council president, joined a March 6 demonstration demanding more and better child-care programs. Also on the picket line was Congresswoman Bella Abzug.

Eva Chertov, SWP candidate for city council from Manhattan's District 3, was among the speakers at a March 3 gay rights demonstration outside the Hilton Hotel. The action, sponsored by the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA), was called against the annual Inner Circle banquet.

Last year's banquet of this "elite" group of journalists and city officials was marked by brutal assaults against GAA members who had come to distribute a leaflet. The March 3 demonstration also demanded that the city council pass Intro 475, a bill to ban discrimination against homosexuals in housing, employment, and public accommodations.

Chertov also attended a special candidates' meeting at the GAA Firehouse Feb. 26. While she was not invited to be part of the program because she is not a candidate in the spring primaries, Chertov participated in the discussion from the floor.

Oliver was scheduled to testify at two hearings on March 14 and 15. The New York Human Rights Commission will hold hearings March 14 on the appalling unemployment among Vietnam veterans in the city. And hearings are scheduled for March 15 on a proposal to end 126 years of free schooling in the City University of New York colleges and charge students tuition.



Militant/John Lauritsen

SWP candidate Eva Chertov speaks at March 3 demonstration for gay rights

Real issues ignored in mayoral primary

N.Y. Dems hide behind 'law & order' cry

By DICK ROBERTS

NEW YORK, Mar. 12—"Those who are convicted of crimes of violence have to go to jail. If they are drug addicts, we have to treat their addiction, but treat it in jail. . . ."

Dick Roberts is the 1973 SWP candidate for New York City comptroller.

New York's Republican Governor Nelson Rockefeller?

Philadelphia's Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo?

No, the speaker is Manhattan Democrat Edward Koch. In the early



Lindsay: 'supervises patronage'

1960s he was champion of the ultra-liberal Greenwich Village Independent Democrats. In 1966 Koch toppled Carmine De Sapio as the Manhattan Democratic chairman. De Sapio was one of the most powerful machine-politicians in the country at that time.

But today Koch is running for mayor of New York. And like other Democratic candidates to that post so far, Koch is making law and order the number one campaign issue.

Asked at a Feb. 13 news conference about his former attitude toward the Democratic Party machine, Koch said he would "love" the support of Democratic leaders. "Times have changed," said Koch.

Other candidates for the Democratic mayoralty nomination include:

- Herman Badillo, the South Bronx congressman. Badillo "repeatedly calls for more policemen on the beat," according to *New York Times* reporter Frank Lynn.

"The liberal Mr. Badillo typifies the mood of the candidates when he describes crime as the issue of most concern to city residents and emphasizes that the problems of crime and the 'delivery of city services' provide 'a community of interest among all the peoples of the city,'" Lynn reports.

- City council President Sanford Garelik. Formerly a chief inspector of the New York Police Department, Garelik attacks the Lindsay administration for a "simplistic" and "laissez-faire" attitude towards crime. Garelik was elected to the city council on Lindsay's 1969 ticket.

- Bronx Congressman Marlo Biaggi. Also a former cop, Biaggi is an outspoken reactionary who was backed by the Conservative Party in the last congressional elections. Now Biaggi complains, "All the other candidates are talking more about law and order than I am."

The mayor himself decided not to run again this year. The risk of losing and consequently further impairing his chances for higher offices impelled Lindsay to step aside for the moment. New York's problems take second place when there is a chance of Lindsay getting the governorship or maybe



Badillo: 'more cops on the beat'

even a seat in the clubby U.S. Senate itself. But Lindsay has been in New York's law and order race a long time.

In presenting the city's capital budget last month, Lindsay stressed "fighting crime." "There can be no higher priority," he said, "than the safety of the city's citizens in their homes and on the streets of their neighborhoods."

Like Representative Koch, Lindsay used to be known as a reformer of big-city politics. But now he "pulls the strings" and "supervises patronage," according to *New York Times* reporter Murray Schumach. Lindsay "proudly regards himself as 'a professional politician,'" says Schumach.

Swing to right?

Times reporter Schumach ponders Lindsay's future course. "In a city and a nation swinging to the right," says Schumach, "a major political problem facing Mr. Lindsay, an outspoken liberal, is what stance to assume. He vows he will remain a progressive, but Councilmen and other observers contend he is already shifting his position."

"Issues Have Moved to the Right for 7 Candidates for Mayor," a headline of another *Times* article states. The author of the article says, "Crime, community control and the delivery of city services are the 'in' issues." And he adds, "Shoved into the background are the traditional issues of recent New York mayoral campaigns—housing, poverty and minorities."

But this is wrong.

The deteriorating condition of housing, the abysmal poverty of hundreds of thousands of city residents, the oppression on all levels of the Black, Puerto Rican, and other minority communities of New York are the key issues of the mayoralty campaign.

The capitalist candidates pretend these are not the main issues because they don't have any solutions to them.

The liberal facade is being put on ice right now because eight years of

Mayor Lindsay's liberal administration has utterly failed to come to grips with New York's pressing social needs. The conditions are worse now than they were eight years ago.

So what do these capitalist candidates do? They ignore the real crimes being committed every day by profit-hungry bosses and rent-gouging landlords. Instead they zero in on street crime, some of which is committed by heroin addicts.

The clamor of the capitalist candidates for heavier punishment of drug addicts only underlines their inability to deal with this problem. Imagine calling for beefing up the New York police force to deal with addiction when it has just been revealed that the NYPD is the biggest heroin peddler on record! In fact the Lindsay administration has been adding to police rolls.



Koch: 'law and order is number one issue'

The only way of eliminating drug addiction is to eliminate its social roots. And these are the very conditions of poverty, unemployment, racism, and alienation bred by capitalism—that the capitalist candidates pretend are not issues.

The law and order race of the liberal politicians ought to be an object lesson. "Boss fighter" Koch once preached that capitalist parties and politics can be changed from the inside. So did Mayor Lindsay. Well?

Seattle socialist hits Nixon's media curbs

By HELEN MEYERS

SEATTLE, March 10—Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Craig Honts participated in a conference on "Threats to Freedom of Expression" as part of a week of activities leading up to a campaign kickoff rally here tonight.

The conference was sponsored by

media by the rich, Honts succeeded in turning the whole discussion toward this issue. Questions from the audience and comments by John Raye, the only Black panelist, indicated agreement with Honts's thesis.

Ms. Efron claimed that the way to counter bias was to eliminate all government control of the media and let



Craig Honts at March 10 Seattle campaign rally

the Washington Civil Liberties Union at the University of Washington School of Communications.

Honts first appeared on a panel discussing the role of the Federal Communications Commission in regulating the press. He condemned recent attempts by that agency to use its licensing power to intimidate local television stations that might carry programs critical of Nixon administration policies. He also called for the protection and extension of regulations guaranteeing equal time to all candidates for public office.

The following afternoon, Honts participated in a panel featuring TV Guide editor Edith Efron, author of *The News Twisters*, a book on media bias. Besides Honts and Efron, all other panelists were TV reporters, including well-known Seattle newscasters Lloyd Cooney of KIRO, Brian Johnson of KOMO, and John Raye and Dan McGaffin of KING.

The panel discussed bias in TV news programming. While the other panelists bemoaned the "liberal Democratic Party bias" of the news, Honts pointed out the difficulty that the anti-war movement, the abortion law repeal movement, and radical candidates have in getting their views accurately reported in the news.

Stating that the source of this difficulty is the private ownership of the

"free market" determine what programs would be viewed. Honts asked if this would not be merely turning over the media completely to those with the most money. Affronted, Ms. Efron replied that anyone who had amassed a fortune should have the "right to spend every jot and tittle of it anyway he sees fit."

When Honts asked, "Well, then, what rights do the poor in this country have?" Ms. Efron replied, to the groans of the audience, "They have the right to work."

Other campaign activities during the week included participation by Honts and other SWP candidates and campaign supporters in demonstrations in support of the United Farmworkers boycott of Safeway Stores and the boycott of Farah pants.

More than 70 supporters attended the rally officially launching the campaign tonight and heard speeches by Honts; Olga Rodriguez, socialist candidate for mayor of Los Angeles; Dorothy Hawkinson, Young Socialists for Honts candidate for student body president at the University of Washington; and Eric Huffman, candidate for city council.

Campaign supporters donated more than \$1,000 in response to a fund appeal made by socialist city council candidate Louise Pitell.

Fuchs fights for Austin ballot slot

By RICHARD STUART

AUSTIN, March 9—Federal Judge Jack Roberts ruled today to uphold the decision of Austin's city attorney that barred 19-year-old socialist candidate for city council Steven Fuchs from the ballot in the April 7 municipal elections here.

Roberts's decision came following the presentation of a brief by American Civil Liberties attorney Clifton Holmes. Holmes asked for a permanent injunction against the city's printing election ballots without Fuchs's name. Holmes cited the precedent of a recent case in which a court ordered a so-called underage candidate on the Detroit city council ballot in 1972.

Holmes said the Austin age requirement was unconstitutional and that it

denied 18- to 20-year-olds their democratic right to hold office and denied all voters their right to vote for whom-ever they thought best qualified to represent them.

Roberts said his ruling was based on a decision made by a three-judge federal court in his district last September, which upheld the Texas-wide age requirements. Roberts said he could not override this decision, which will be appealed before the Supreme Court next fall.

Holmes is now discussing with the national offices of the ACLU and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws further legal moves in the case.

Fuchs's continued fight for ballot status continued to be one of the most widely publicized aspects of the entire city council campaign.

SWP sets campaign for Philly Dist. Atty.

By JOHN NAUBERT

PHILADELPHIA, March 11—The Philadelphia Socialist Workers Party officially launched its 1973 campaign this week with a petition drive to gain ballot status.

SWP district attorney candidate is Bruce Kaufman, a 23-year-old insurance clerk and longtime antiwar activist. Harvey McArthur, a 21-year-old physics student at Temple University, is running for city controller.

To meet the requirements of Pennsylvania law for ballot status, so-called minority parties are undemocratically required to obtain 8,400 signatures from registered voters of Philadelphia.

This week campaign supporters made a good start on the petition drive and collected more than 5,000 signatures.

This week's petitioning culminated in a dinner party held Saturday evening, March 10, featuring speeches by McArthur and Kaufman.

In his talk, McArthur emphasized the valuable lessons of the recent Philadelphia teachers strike. "Many teachers just a few short months ago had vigorously supported Democratic Mayor Rizzo and helped to get him elected," he said. "Today I think it would be very hard to find a teacher

in this city who would support him again."

McArthur pointed out that Rizzo tried to smash the teachers union. This would have set a precedent for the city administration in negotiations with other city workers and the local Transport Workers Union, both having contracts expiring soon.

He went on to say that it did not matter whether the current officeholders in city hall were Democrats or Republicans. They all united in their attempts to bust the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers.

McArthur said that the action of the city administration was not an isolated development, "Nixon is playing the same game. In fact, he coordinates it on a national level by handing billions of dollars to a useless military while cutting to the bone funds for welfare and forcing working people to pay for runaway inflation."

Kaufman focused on the importance of the recent Supreme Court ruling that liberalized abortion laws. "This victory obtained by the abortion law repeal movement will set an example for women fighting against their oppression." "As district attorney," he said, "I would prosecute those persons or institutions who obstruct women from having safe, legal abortions."

200 hear Scherr on Int'l Women's Day

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND, March 12—"Our struggle as women is for certain important demands and reforms, but it is also more," said Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, while addressing an International Women's Day gathering of nearly 200.

She endorsed the Scherr campaign at the picket line.

Later that same day, Scherr attended a hearing at Cleveland city hall on the plight of Vietnam veterans but was prevented from speaking by the bureaucrats of the National Conference of Mayors, who sponsored the



Roberta Scherr on demonstration in support of Indians at Wounded Knee.

ing of nearly 200. "It is a struggle for full liberation, which cannot be achieved under capitalist society. Our liberation will require a total restructuring of society—a socialist revolution."

Scherr spoke to the International Women's Day celebration at Case Western Reserve University on March 10 and later led a workshop on "Feminism and Socialism" attended by 15 women. Fifty people at the meeting endorsed the socialist campaign.

On March 9, she had participated on a picket line of 40 people at Cleveland State University to demand the withdrawal of federal marshals from Wounded Knee. In a statement, she called the demands of the Oglala Sioux, "totally justified," and stated her unconditional support for their struggle. Four leaders of the Cleveland American Indian Movement en-

hearings. The veterans in attendance, visibly angry over the handling of their grievances, responded favorably to the socialist candidate in informal discussion, and four endorsed the socialist campaign.

Scherr has continued to campaign on campuses and high schools in Cleveland and around the state. On March 7, she spoke to an audience of 80 people at the University of Cincinnati on a panel with representatives of the Black Workers Congress, Cincinnati Peace Coalition, and the political writer of the Cincinnati *Enquirer*. The topic of the panel was "Is the War in Vietnam Over?"

During the week she also addressed meetings at Cleveland Heights High School and a class at Cuyahoga Community College and appeared on the Jay Turner talk show on radio station WERE.

OUT OF THE CLOSETS

Out of the Closets: Voices of Gay Liberation. Edited by Karla Jay and Allen Young. A Douglas Book. New York, 1972. 404 pp. Cloth \$7.95, paper \$3.95.

This book is an illustrated anthology of more than 50 articles reflecting a generally radical view of gay oppression and liberation. Some have appeared elsewhere, and it is useful to now have them all under one cover.

Among these are such standard documents of the gay liberation movement as "The Woman-Identified

homosexuality as a "social pathology."

Concern over this attitude can only give way to anguish and anger at reports (*Le Monde*, Feb. 15) that the Cuban government's new draft penal code actually provides for a possible death sentence for homosexual acts involving coercion and lesser punishments for "ostentatious homosexuality." Such blatantly oppressive proposals, if enacted, would be a step backward for the revolution, and would weaken its support both at home and abroad.

Young gives a fascinating and infuriating account of the difficulties gays face in Cuba (how, for instance, a dozen male and female gays lost their jobs at the Foreign Ministry because, a CP member explained, "these homosexuals could not be trusted since their loyalty to the revolution was weakened by the fact that the revolution was opposed to homo-

Books

Woman" by the Radicalesbians, Carl Wittman's "A Gay Manifesto," and "Gay Is Good" by Martha Shelley. Others, such as "The Closet Syndrome" by Stuart Byron and "Rapping With a Street Transvestite Revolutionary," are published here for the first time.

Like most anthologies, this one is uneven. It ranges from the sometimes compelling description of a lesbian's efforts to relate her homosexuality to the women's movement at a time when the latter preferred to ignore it (Rita Mae Brown's "Take a Lesbian to Lunch"), to the informative study "The Anthropological Perspective" by the Red Butterfly, to an interview with a Black prisoner ("Sissy in Prison"), to the program of the New York Third World Gay Revolution, to the utterly vacuous soul-bearing of "My Gay Soul" by Gary Alinder.

One of the most interesting contributions for me was Allen Young's autobiographical "Out of the Closets, Into the Streets." In it he traces "the swift coming together of the personal and the political" that occurred at the end of the sixties for so many gays who were active in the radical movement but whose activity required them to hide their homosexuality.

It is the dramatic merging of these two elements that characterizes so much of the gay liberation struggle today. And it is the attempt to seek ways to comprehend and strengthen that union that pervades this book. The book contains no hint of a desire to justify homosexuality or gay liberation (why should it?), but rather reflects the groping of radical gays for an explanation of their oppression and of how their struggle fits into the struggle of all the oppressed.

Editors Jay and Young have done a service by including a section on Cuba. The Cuban revolution helped radicalize a whole wave of American youth in the early sixties. But gay radicals always found their enthusiasm tempered with concern over the regime's antihomosexual policies—low points of which were the "work camps" to which gays were sent in the mid-sixties and the statement, reprinted in this book of the First National Congress on Education and Culture in 1971, which characterized

sexuality"), and of his own contradictory emotions—"love for the Cuban government's courageous opposition to U. S. dominance, hatred for the same government's cruel oppression of my gay sisters and brothers."

The book's Cuba chapter also includes a "Letter From Cuban Gay People to the North American Gay Liberation Movement" and responses to the cultural congress statement by the Gay Revolution Party and the Gay Committee of Returned Brigadistas.

—DAVID THORSTAD



Militant/Howard Petrick



THE ORIGINS OF MATERIALISM

The Origins of Materialism by George Novack. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1972. Third Printing. 300 pp. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.95.

Some 2,500 years ago the first known philosopher, Thales, tried to explain reality through the use of reason, without recourse to gods, spirits, or myths. He founded the first philosophical school, that of the Milesian "naturalists." Aristotle later wrote that these naturalists "thought the principle of all things was in the form of matter alone."

Although others before the Greeks had made discoveries about the natural order and its processes, the Greek philosophers were the first to develop a systematic body of thought attempting to provide rational explanations for natural events and their origin. The Greeks were the first to separate the explanation of the world about them from magic and religion, and they originated the concept of scientific knowledge as opposed to religious belief.

The Greek philosophers were also the first to distinguish between materialism and idealism. Materialists believe matter is the basic stuff of the universe from which other things originate; that nature exists independently of any human or divine intelligence; and that mind does not exist apart from matter, which precedes it and determines its limitations. The materialist outlook is basic to Marxism.

This outlook is counterposed to all forms of philosophical idealism,

Books

beginning with religion. Idealists hold that the basic nature of reality is not matter, but mind or idea.

The earliest Greek philosophers developed their materialist ideas as alternatives to the traditional explanations offered by religion. As Heraclitus said, "This world, which is the same for all things, was made by no god or man."

Since the concept of matter as an abstract category had not been developed yet, the first materialists assigned the role of the primeval substance serving as the basis for natural evolution to specific elements they were familiar with. Thales, for instance, designated water as the basic element from which all others originated.

In *The Origins of Materialism* the reader gets not only an explanation and appreciation of the ideas of the Greek and Roman materialists. It also shows why philosophy developed when it did, what the social preconditions for this revolution in human thought were, and how the class struggles of antiquity affected the evolution of philosophical ideas.

Clearly, the commercial life of the seafaring traders of Asia Minor is reflected in the statement by Heraclitus that "all things are exchanged for fire, and fire for all things, just as goods for gold and gold for goods." The Greek merchants encountered different societies, customs, and peoples. Their far-ranging commerce was an important factor in the development of a leisure class with sufficient breadth of outlook and experience to begin the process of speculation and generalization that led to the birth of philosophy.

Novack explains the interaction of idealism and materialism, schools of thought that developed in the course of mutual polemics. He also describes the social functions fulfilled by various ideologies based on these schools of thought. Plato, for example, was an ideologist of class society, and the higher standing later accorded the Greek idealists compared with that of the Greek materialists was partly due to the reliance of Christian theology on idealism.

The division between materialism and idealism is not only of interest to philosophers. It has been reproduced in the battles of science against religion, scientific against utopian socialism, and Marxism against anarchism. *The Origins of Materialism* is worth reading as a fascinating example of the materialist approach to the history of ideas, but also because the attempt of the first philosophers to help free humanity from dependence on the irrational was the beginning of a struggle that we are still involved in today.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Circulation drive still needs boost

Variety of locations for Militant sales

By NANCY COLE

MARCH 14—Four areas made or exceeded their quotas in sales of the March 9 *Militant* last week. Houston set the pace for the third straight week by selling 400 *Militants* and then increasing their quota to 500.

Most Houston campuses were closed last week, but they made up for this by stepping up sales at other locations. Seventy were sold at factory gates and pay lines, and they plan to continue to regularize this area of sales.

The Lower Manhattan Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance made their quota of 325 for the second time. SWP sales director Ron Wolin reports they have started Friday night and Sunday sales.

Last Friday afternoon, for example, they still had 80 more *Militants* to sell to meet their quota and only one day to do it in. With a *Militant* Forum scheduled for that night, they began dispatching teams of YSAers and SWPers as they came to the forum hall after work and school. At a number of street corners close by they sold 40 *Militants*.

On Saturday, they set up an SWP election campaign table in front of a supermarket, displayed *Militant* articles—on Malcolm X and Nixon's bud-



Militant/Skip Ball

get cutbacks—and sold 57 copies of two weeks' issues.

Despite a week filled with rainy days, San Diego sales jumped 62 this week, surpassing their quota of 200 by 45. They report that they had also made their quota the previous week, although the scoreboard was compiled before they knew the final results.

The Providence YSA went well over its goal by selling out the week's bundle of 30 and then selling 20 back issues.

At least two areas are combining canvassing for local SWP candidates with sales of *The Militant*. Canvassers in the Oakland/Berkeley area are going door-to-door in the Black community and the student community around the university talking about the campaign, distributing literature, and selling *The Militant*. Austin supporters are doing the same thing in the Black housing projects.

Sales of the March issue of the *International Socialist Review* featuring the article "Women's Rights Vs. Catholic Dogma" also went well in many areas last week. Seattle sold 35 *ISRs* at their abortion tribunal, and San Diego sold 40 *ISRs* last week. Boston sold 41 of the February and March issues last week.

The total number of *Militants* sold by those areas reporting in for the March 9 issue is only 40 more than the previous week. Initial reports on sales of the March 16 *Militant*, however, with the banner headline on Wounded Knee, indicate an excellent response. For instance, Upper West Side SWPers and YSAers in New York sold 203 copies on Saturday alone, and San Francisco had sold 400 as of Monday.

While this will give a boost to the spring sales campaign, this momentum will have to be sustained if we are to meet and surpass our national goal of 7,000 sold each week by the end of May.

Many *Militant* supporters sell bundles of *The Militant* each week that are not included in the weekly sales scoreboard. These people are encouraged to take weekly sales quotas so that they can be listed on the scoreboard. New readers are also encouraged to take bundles and sales quotas.

Militant scoreboard

AREA	SOLD LAST WEEK	WEEKLY GOAL	%	SOLD PREVIOUS WEEK
Providence	50	20	250	(*)
Houston	400	325	123	(400)
San Diego	245	200	123	(206)
Lower Manhattan	325	325	100	(281)
Cleveland	240	250	96	(215)
St. Cloud	19	20	95	(*)
Amherst	23	25	92	(*)
Atlanta	227	250	91	(219)
Washington	220	250	88	(210)
Brooklyn	250	325	77	(178)
Denver	165	225	73	(180)
St. Louis	25	35	71	(20)
Austin	140	200	70	(179)
Oakland/Berkeley	349	500	70	(303)
Detroit	241	350	69	(230)
Chicago	310	500	62	(322)
Seattle	151	250	60	(142)
New Paltz	20	35	57	(20)
College Park	25	50	50	(*)
Boston	238	500	48	(184)
San Francisco	240	500	48	(232)
Twin Cities	174	425	41	(160)
Upper West Side	133	325	41	(191)
Portland	80	200	40	(90)
Boulder	25	65	38	(*)
Los Angeles	160	550	29	(150)
Philadelphia	77	275	28	(206)
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	4,552			
GOAL	7,000			
(*) no report)				

I WANT TO TAKE A SALES QUOTA OF _____

Please send me a weekly bundle of (12.5 cents/copy, payable after you sell them): 5 10 25 Other _____

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YS teams on road; need funds

Young Socialist sales drive moves ahead

By MARK UGOLINI

At the halfway point, the drive to increase *Young Socialist* bundle sales has made significant progress. Launched at the twelfth Young Socialist national convention last November, the sales drive is aimed at reaching a bundle circulation of 10,000 by May.

Jerry Freiwrth, YS business manager, reports, "As a result of a major effort to step up YS sales over the last few months, the total bundle circulation has grown from 5,711 in January to 8,071 in March—an increase of 2,360 copies, or more than 41 percent.

"Our experience so far has shown the YS can be sold nearly anywhere, but especially on the campuses and the high schools through consistent and well-organized sales."

Progress so far in the drive is attributed to a number of major increases in bundle sizes from locals of the Young Socialist Alliance. In addition, the YS business office has received bundle orders for the March issue from more than 20 new areas, including Salt Lake City, Utah, and Corvallis, Ore.

The pacesetters for the sales campaign so far have been two New York City YSA locals. The Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn locals have both taken March bundles of 450 and are already reporting brisk sales on New York campuses. Also, a total of nine YSA locals increased the size of their March YS bundles by 100 copies or more.

Given the success of the sales drive until now, the YS business office is planning a major push to break the back of the drive through large increases in bundle orders for the April issue of the *Young Socialist*. "On a national scale," Freiwrth reports, "we want to try to get as close as possible to or surpass our goal of 10,000 through our April increases. The sooner we reach the 10,000 figure, the more effective we'll be this spring in reaching

young people with revolutionary socialist ideas."

The April issue will include firsthand reports on the Indian struggle at Wounded Knee, coverage of coming YSA student government campaigns, and an interview by Andrew Pulley with leading activists in the Detroit struggle against STRESS, a special police unit terrorizing the Black community.

Those interested in selling the YS can write to Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003, or contact the nearest chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (see the Socialist Directory on page 22).

By DELPFINE WELCH

Nine Young Socialist teams are now on the road! Next week three more will join them for a total of 12.

Although the first teams left only a week ago, they are already hard at work. The Cleveland-Detroit team is leading in sales of the *Young Socialist* and *The Militant*. In their first week the team sold 200 *Militants* and 165 *Young Socialists* at Ohio University in Athens and signed up one person to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Selling the *Young Socialist* and *The Militant* is the primary activity of all the teams. The initial goal is for each team to sell at least 150 *Young Socialists* and 150 *Militants* each week. *The Militant* will regularly report on the progress of the teams.

Evan Cohen, captain of the Austin-Houston team, reported that in their first two hours at San Antonio College in Texas, they sold 78 *Militants* and three people asked to join the YSA.

In just a few days, the Los Angeles-San Diego team sold 128 *Young Socialists*. Salm Kolis explained that "most of those were sold going door-to-door in the Santa Barbara dorms and in Isla Vista, the area where most of the students live. We've found that the YS is very easy to sell. Most


of the time we don't even have to give a sales pitch. People are interested in it because of its coverage on the student movement."

At Muhlenberg College in Allentown, Pa., the Philadelphia-D. C. team convinced the student council to pass a resolution supporting the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie. Zahraie is an Iranian student living in the U. S. who is threatened with deportation.

Aside from selling *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist*, team members have held forums on the situation in Southeast Asia, on "Feminism and Socialism," on the Black liberation struggle, on "How to Make a Revolution," and other topics. The teams now on the road are Boston, New York, Philadelphia-D. C., Atlanta, Cleveland-Detroit, Austin-Houston, Denver, Los Angeles-San Diego, and Oakland/Berkeley-San Francisco.

Although many teams have already begun their travels, funds are urgently needed to ensure that they will all be able to stay on the road for the full eight weeks.

Please clip the coupon below and mail a check today to the Young Socialist Teams Fund.



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YS Teams Fund, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Calendar

ATLANTA

MILITANT BOOKSTORE FORUM SERIES. Held every week on topics of interest—the Black struggle, women's liberation, the Vietnamese revolution, socialism—panels, films, guest speakers, debates. Every Friday, 8:30 p.m., 68 Peachtree St., downtown Atlanta. For information call (404) 523-0610.

AUSTIN

THE CURRENT SITUATION IN CHILE. Speaker: Tom Leonard. Fri., March 23, 8 p.m. 1801 Nueces. For more information call (512) 478-8602.

BOSTON

DINNER AND RALLY TO KICK OFF '73 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGNS FOR BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE CITY COUNCILS AND SCHOOL COMMITTEES. Featured speaker: Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate. Come and meet Boston and Cambridge candidates. Sat., March 24. Entertainment and dinner, 6 p.m.; Rally, 8:30 p.m. Donation: dinner and rally, \$3.50; rally only, \$1. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor. (opp. South St.). For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

STRUGGLE FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF EDUCATION. Speakers: Luis Fuentes, superintendent, District 1, Mirian Gonzales, president of parents association, PS 188; Reverend W.B. Miller from Tilden housing in Brownsville, leader of struggle in Canarsie for open education. Fri., March 23, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Pre-forum dinner, 6 p.m., \$1. Aup: Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

INDIAN LIFE IN THE HIGHLANDS OF ECUADOR. Speaker: Art Piper, practicing anthropologist, who has lived with the Ecuadorian Indians for the last three years. Fri., March 23, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

LOS ANGELES

INTERNATIONAL DRUG TRAFFIC AND THE CASE OF LOS TRES. Speakers: Antonio Rodriguez, attorney for one of Los Tres; Redones Rolon, member of the Committee to Free Los Tres. Fri., March 23, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1, h.s. students, 50c. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

ELECTIONS IN ARGENTINA. Speaker: Mirta Vidal, staff writer for The Militant, author of Chicanos Speak Out and Chicana Liberation and Revolutionary Youth. Fri., March 23, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup: Upper West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

RUMMAGE SALE: BARGAINS—TVs, radios, books, records, new and used clothing, art, and more. Sat., March 24, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.). Sponsored by Upper West Side Socialist Workers 1973 Campaign Committee. Please donate your rummage. Call (212) 663-3000.

PHILADELPHIA

A TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES: THE INDIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT. Panel: Georgalin Brushbroker, eyewitness report from Wounded Knee; Dr. Theodore Hatzel, general-secretary, Indian Rights Association; Andrew Roberts, Coalition of Indian Defense; Lee Smith, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., March 23, 8 p.m. Steitler Hall, B-21, U of P, 37th St. below Walnut. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup: Philadelphia Socialist Forums. For more information call (215) WAS-4316.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE SWP ON THE AIR. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly radio program, 2 p.m. every Saturday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

THE FACTS ON NIXON'S BUDGET CUTS—Who gets hurt and why. Speakers: John Linder and Dave Walters of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., March 23, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Sponsored by Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CHINA SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. Speaker: Les Evans, editor of International Socialist Review. Fri., March 23, 8 p.m. 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2363.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

...abortion

Continued from page 11

There was also a telegram from suffragist Florence Luscomb and a poetry reading by Sandra Hochman.

At one point in the evening, the hall was darkened for a slide show presentation by WONAAC national coordinator Susan LaMont on the history of the U.S. contraception and abortion rights movements. The audience loved it: they hissed the pope and Nixon and cheered the fighters for women's rights, learning in the process that women have been struggling in the U.S. to control their own bodies since the first American revolution.

WONAAC's International Women's Day rally was a testimony to those past struggles, a celebration of the recent U.S. court victory, and a prelude to the battle to win women's right to choose all around the world.

...Detroit

Continued from page 24

Police Terror with its many public hearings, and it is now being continued by the Coalition to Abolish STRESS," Dixon said. Dixon urged support for the anti-STRESS demonstration that will coincide with the common council's consideration of the police budget, sometime in April.

Other speakers continued the theme of organizing the Black community. These included Chokwe Lumumba of the Republic of New Africa, Gil Bass of the Black Legal Alliance, and Lonnie Dee of the Black Panther Party.

Indicative of the enthusiasm for continuing the struggle was a collection taken up for the coalition of more than \$300. Thousands of leaflets for the upcoming demonstration were picked up by new activists, and dozens signed up for work committees.

The regular weekly meeting of the coalition at Wayne State drew activists from a number of campuses, high schools, and three Chrysler plants. A meeting of 60 people to organize a Committee to Abolish STRESS was held at the predominantly Black Mumford High School.

Meanwhile, the *Detroit Free Press*, in its March 10 edition, reported that two off-duty STRESS officers killed a Black motorist. According to the *Free Press*, Robert Hoyt, 24, was shot by patrolman Raymond Peterson. Peterson, along with patrolman Gary Prochorow, allegedly stopped Hoyt for a traffic violation.

The cops claim that Hoyt jumped out of his car with a knife in his hand and attacked them, at which time Peterson shot and killed him. Both Peterson and Prochorow were in unmarked cars.

Peterson has been involved in at least eight of the 17 killings by the STRESS unit since its inception in

January 1971. Police announced that both a police board of inquiry and the homicide section would routinely investigate the killing. It was also announced that Peterson would be reassigned pending the outcome of the investigation but to the board of inquiry! No doubt to ensure an impartial finding.

In response to this the Coalition to Abolish STRESS has called another emergency demonstration for 3 p.m., Tuesday, March 13, outside 1300 Beau Bien, site of police headquarters.

...\$ crisis

Continued from page 13

dollar crisis. The point can be reached where foreign corporations simply refuse to accept dollars in trade and foreign banks refuse to accept dollars in financial transactions.

Precisely because of the predominance of the United States in world trade and finance that would hurl the the capitalist world back into the economic chaos of the 1930s. Increased controls on dollar flows abroad enacted in recent weeks are further steps in this direction.

Moreover, each crisis intensifies the drive of capital against labor in the competing nations. Nixon's 1974 budget slashes are already directed at "cooling" the American economy and dampening inflation in order to bolster the dollar. It is likely that Washington's spokesmen have made further promises in this direction in the secret meetings abroad. And this move towards recession in the United States takes place within only two years of the recovery from the recession of 1970-71, while unemployment is still at very high levels.

The dollar and world financial stability rested in the postwar period on the strength of the U.S. economy. But the United States position in international competition has deteriorated. The economy is subject to more rapid cycles with shorter upturns and longer periods of slump, continued inflation, and mounting structural unemployment. These are the main factors that have destabilized international capitalist finance and threatened to bring about its collapse.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.
ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Angelo Mercure, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.
CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.
 Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.
 Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 11071/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.
 Riverside: YSA, c/o Don Andrews, 3408 Florida, Riverside, Calif. 92507.
 Sacramento: YSA, c/o Norm Halsinger, 817a 27 St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-1883.
 San Diego: Militant Bookstore, SWP and YSA, 5617 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 582-3352.
 San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Pioneer Books, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114. Tel: (415) 626-9958.
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 San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.
 Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.
COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.
 Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon-Sat, 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.
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 Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.
INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.
IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St., Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.
KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexing-

ton, Ky. 40506.
MARYLAND: College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.
MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.
 Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.
MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) 1E-6135.
 East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.
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 Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mills, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-6132.
 Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103.

Tel: (216) 391-5553.
 Columbus: YSA, c/o Daryl Drabnick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio 43228.
 Toledo: YSA, c/o Shannon O'Toole, 1606 Freeman St., #2, Toledo, Ohio 43606. Tel: (419) 472-2592.
 Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.
OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Haugh, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.
 Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Room 201, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.
PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.
 Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WAS-4316.
RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.
SOUTH DAKOTA: Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, Box 1658, Augustana College, Sioux Falls, S. Dak. 57102.
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WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.
Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.—8 p.m., Mon-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.
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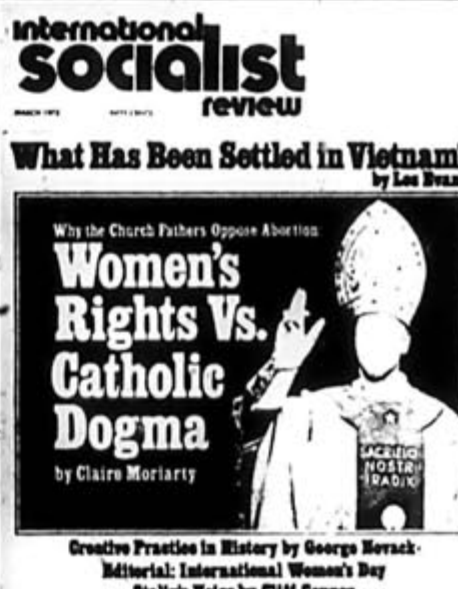
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THE MILITANT

Pledge to continue fight against 'STRESS'

Detroit memorial held for police victims

DETROIT, March 11 — More than 700 people, overwhelmingly Black, packed a memorial meeting for John Percy Boyd and Mark Clyde Bethune March 7 at Wayne State University.

Boyd and Bethune were killed by Atlanta police in late February. They were fleeing a massive police man-hunt after a December shoot-out in which a number of Detroit police were shot. A third Black man, Hayward Brown, was captured by Detroit police.

Detroit police and the mass media here tried to whip up a racist mood by picturing the three as "mad dog killers" and dope pushers who shot and killed policemen of the special STRESS ("Stop the Robberies—Enjoy Safe Streets") squad, which was "protecting" the Black community from the heroin trade.

This hysterical campaign was shown to be a tissue of lies as the truth came out that Boyd, Brown, and Bethune were antidrug activists. All three are now widely admired in the Black community.

The Wayne memorial, held in the University Center Ballroom, was the largest political meeting on the campus since the massive May 1970 student upsurge, according to movement activists. The crowd represented a cross section of the Black community, with many middle-age and older Blacks, young workers, and college and high school youth. Relatives of the slain men were present.

Melba Boyd, sister of John Boyd, a student at Michigan State University, recounted her brother's history of involvement in the Black move-

ment, his concern with the drug problem, and his identification with African liberation. Her remarks were well received.

Ronald Lockett, a coordinator of the Coalition to Abolish STRESS, which sponsored the meeting, spoke next. Lockett was a close friend and political collaborator of Bethune, known to friends by his African name "Ibo."

Lockett recalled Ibo's long political history. While a student at Central High he joined SNCC. Later he helped form the Detroit chapter of the Black Panther Party. Still later he was a delegate to the founding convention of the Republic of New Africa in Detroit.

In December of 1969 Lockett and Bethune joined the now-defunct All-African People's Union. From then on they were close associates until the day of the fateful shoot-out in December of 1972. Lockett's call, at the end of his speech, to continue the struggle as Boyd and Bethune would have wanted was met with a standing, cheering ovation by the crowd.

Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the Black Commission of Inquiry, spoke next. His speech, interrupted a number of times by applause, drew a political evaluation of the strengths and limits of the struggle of Boyd, Brown, and Bethune against dope, and emphasized the lessons that could be learned for future struggles.

Dixon pointed out that struggles against oppressive conditions by the Black community always came up against the police department. "Brothers John and Ibo made it perfectly clear for us that Black people cannot rid our communities of dope, rid our communities of police terror, rid our communities of racist education, rid our communities of racist slumlords and slums without having to confront the police department and the rulers of this city."

Their struggle showed, he said, that a first step in fighting such conditions is to organize to "politically tie the hands of the police," to "politically handcuff the police."

This must be a political, rather than a military struggle as the three thought, Dixon explained, because although there are more than 400,000 Blacks in the city and only 4,000 or so cops, the three were isolated. He said, "As they were carrying out their antidope campaign the majority of us didn't know anything about it—they were isolated from the masses of our people."

The first step in handcuffing the police, Dixon said, is winning over the Black community to seeing the real role of police and the STRESS unit. Until the recent events, he indicated, many Blacks supported the STRESS unit, mistakenly thinking it existed to protect them. No campaign to abolish STRESS can succeed until the Black community is clear on its nature, he pointed out.

"The process of educating the community took a big step forward with the Black Commission of Inquiry into

Continued on page 22



Part of crowd at Mark Bethune's funeral

Militant/Maceo Dixon

Democrats, Republicans—'Two-headed monster'

Chicano runs for office in Chicago's 7th C.D.

CHICAGO—Angel Moreno, the chairman of the Illinois Raza Unida Party, is waging an active campaign for the June 5 special election in Chicago's 7th Congressional District. Moreno is running against Democratic and Republican party candidates.

"The two-party system that should be our guarantee of fair and equal representation has become a two-headed monster bent on our enslavement and exploitation," Moreno says.

The 7th C.D. encompasses the downtown "loop" area, and Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Black communities. Sixty-five percent of the district's population is Black, and 20 to 25 percent is Chicano and Puerto Rican.

The special election has been called to fill the seat left vacant when Congressman George Collins, a Black Democrat, was killed in a plane crash. The Democratic Party machine of Mayor Richard Daley has endorsed Collins's widow, Cardiss Collins, for the seat.

A primary election will be held April 17. But Moreno, who is running as an independent, is not participating in the party primary. Moreno is urging voters not to vote in the primary, since by doing so they forfeit the right to sign independent nominating petitions to place him on the ballot.

Moreno points out that both the

Democrats and the Republicans "have a long history of not representing the Latino population of this country, the Spanish-speaking population in this country."

The 7th C.D. includes many campuses, and most of the active backing for Moreno's campaign has come from student organizations. Support has come from the Organization of Latin American Students (OLAS) on several campuses; El Cuadro, at the U of Illinois Circle Campus; and the Latin American Defense Organization (LADO).

LADO was active in the recent struggle at Tuley High School, where the predominantly Chicano and Puerto Rican student body ousted the principal they said was a racist. Moreno actively supported the Tuley struggle.

Moreno and other activists of the Raza Unida Party were also among the main supporters of the Jan. 20 antiwar action in Chicago. Moreno spoke at the rally, linking up the struggle in Vietnam to the struggle of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

"While our fellow campesinos, workers, women, children, and students are being massacred in Vietnam," Moreno told the antiwar demonstrators, "our Raza too is being massacred and oppressed in this country and in Latin America as well."

"The Yankees have designated our role as a permanent source of cheap labor for this economic system. Not satisfied, they use us as cannon fodder in fighting their imperialistic wars."

More than 6,000 signatures—5 percent of the registered voters in the district—are needed on independent



Paul Obi

Angel Moreno marching in Jan. 20 antiwar demonstration in Chicago.

nominating petitions to get Moreno on the ballot. Because only a small number of Chicanos are registered, this is an extremely difficult undertaking.

Felipe Aguerra, Moreno's campaign manager, points out that the Republicans and Democrats are automatically allowed on the ballot. "This is just one of the barriers that keeps us down politically," he said. "The Raza Unida Party will challenge this to the end." A lawsuit is planned to overturn this undemocratic requirement.

Although Moreno is a well-known Raza Unida Party leader, and the campaign is being run out of the office of the RUP, Moreno is not running as a candidate of the Raza Unida Party. His campaign is sponsored by the "People for Moreno Committee." Moreno supporters apparently feel that this is the best way to get around the problem of running a campaign that is oriented primarily to Chicanos, but is for an office representing a district in which Chicanos are a minority. Nonetheless, they state that their main objective in this campaign is to lay the basis for building a stronger Raza Unida Party in Chicago.

For more information on the campaign, contact the People for Moreno Committee, 3424 W. 26th St., Room 205, Chicago, Ill. 60623.

World Outlook

A weekly international supplement to The Militant based on selections from Intercontinental Press, a newsmagazine reflecting the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism.

MARCH 23, 1973

Canadian Indians mobilize in struggle for aboriginal rights

[The following article first appeared in *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist biweekly published in Toronto, Canada.]

The question of aboriginal rights remains a burning issue following the rejection by the Supreme Court of Canada January 31 of land claims by British Columbia's Nishga Indians.

The Nishga tribe is claiming title to 4,800 square miles of land in northern British Columbia, which the provincial government—the target of their legal suit—conceded they had occupied "since time immemorial." The case was regarded as a landmark test of native peoples' claims across Canada to compensation for lands stolen from them by the white man as he colonized the continent. The Nishgas have never signed a treaty with the whites.

Of the seven judges who heard the case in Ottawa, three upheld the Nishga claim, arguing in part that the Indians' longtime occupation of the Nass Valley was a proof of ownership, and that Indian title was recognized in George III's Royal Proclamation of 1763, which forbade private persons to buy Indian lands.

Three judges turned down the Nishga appeal, saying that they were not covered by the Royal Proclamation since the lands in question had come under British control only in 1846 with the signing by Britain and the United States of the Treaty of Oregon, which did not mention Indian rights. The seventh judge's deciding vote against the native claim was based on a "technical detail" that the British Columbia attorney general had not authorized the case to come before the Supreme Court.

While the Nishga spokesmen said they would take the case to the World Court in The Hague, George Manuel, president of the National Indian Brotherhood, said it was now up to the federal government to make the final decision.

Asked the government position, Prime Minister Trudeau referred to the 1969 White Paper, which dismissed aboriginal claims.

Yet the question of aboriginal and treaty rights is a vital one for

Canada's native peoples—a cornerstone of their attempts to fight off new encroachment on their lands threatened by energy resource developments like the Québec government's James Bay hydroelectric development, or the Projected Mackenzie Valley highway and pipeline in the Northwest Territories. Not only are many of the 250,000 reserve Indians pressing for renegotiation of their treaties, with their minimal [protective] provisions imposed on their ancestors by colonial agents and the RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police]. But there are 115,000 Indians, as well as the Inuit (Eskimos), and mixed-blood Metis, who lack even the rudimentary protection of treaties.

Their land claims were bolstered by federal officials at recent court hearings in Montréal on a bid by the James Bay Indians and Inuit for an injunction to halt the \$6 billion [billion] hydro project. The director of the policy division of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development testified that no land cession treaty has ever been signed between the District of Ungava's 6,000 Cree Indians and Inuit and any government, with one exception, and therefore they have a firm legal right to more than half the province.

In the Northwest Territories, native people—a majority of the population—are mobilizing around demands that the government freeze all development north of the 60th parallel (the boundary with the southern provinces) until their land claims are settled.

The struggle for recognition of their aboriginal rights is uniting all of Canada's native peoples, treaty and nontreaty alike. For if aboriginal rights are denied, then what is the status of the treaties which were based on the concept that the Indians had rights as original inhabitants? Trudeau himself demonstrated this logic when he told a Liberal party dinner in Vancouver in 1969 that "we won't recognize aboriginal rights . . . and this will mean that perhaps the treaties shouldn't go on forever."

In practice, of course, the existing treaties have been continually broken or not fulfilled by white capitalist society. The most authoritative

study of the question, *Native Rights in Canada* (published by the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada), lists seven major heads under which the treaties have been violated, beginning with the violation of natives' hunting and fishing rights by white men's laws.

Following the Supreme Court's rejection of the Nishga appeal, Trudeau is reported to have told Nishga chief Frank Calder that he now thought the Indians have more legal rights to their land than he at first believed, but he told the House February 8 that he still considers aboriginal rights to be "a very vague concept." Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien, in a recent interview with *Toronto Star* columnist Peter Desbarats, termed native claims to aboriginal rights "legal and semantic disputes," stating, "I prefer to look at the question in terms of some sort of social compensation, not related to any rights but to the social disturbance that we are creating for the native peoples."

Why are Canada's rulers so reluctant to acknowledge the just claims of the native peoples, the most oppressed of this society? Trudeau expressed their cynical reasoning very succinctly in his Vancouver speech: "It's inconceivable, I think, that in a given society, one section of the society have a treaty with the other section of the society. We must be all equal under the laws . . . I don't think that we should encourage the Indians to feel that their treaties should last forever within Canada so that they be able to receive their twine or their gun powder. They should become Canadians as all other Canadians."

"If we think of restoring aboriginal rights to the Indians, well, what about the French who were defeated at the Plains of Abraham, shouldn't we restore rights to them? And what about the Acadians who were deported—shouldn't we compensate for this?"

Or as the prime minister stated elsewhere last year: "... If we were to try in any government, try to undo the errors of our past and buy back the past, we wouldn't have a nation, we wouldn't have a country."

Straight from the horse's mouth, as it were—the leading spokesman of the Canadian capitalist class acknowledges that the state is founded on violence and injustice!

It is precisely this control by the Canadian state over their lives and livelihoods that growing numbers of native people are challenging. Asserting their nationality as sovereign peoples in their own right, based on their territorial claims, they are rejecting the laws and prerogatives of the profit-oriented white society as we know it.

The Nishga tribal claims, far from being resolved by the Supreme Court ruling, have helped bring to a head the underlying issues posed by Canada's native struggle for self-determination. The Nishga case arose because the previous Social Credit provincial government denied the Indian's right to their land. What will be the response of the new NDP government in British Columbia? The NDP is pledged by convention decision to respect natives' aboriginal rights. Nishga chief Frank Calder, instrumental in taking their claims to the courts, is a minister in the British Columbia cabinet.

Indian affairs are by law a federal responsibility. But the British Columbia NDP government has now been handed a magnificent opportunity to take the lead on this question, to respond by putting its weight unconditionally behind the Indians' demands, putting at their disposal all the resources of the provincial government so that they can win a victory for all native people in this country. □



Tribal leaders on treaty signing day in Saskatchewan in early 1920s. Signing of treaties was solemn ceremony in which white colonizers pledged in name of their monarch to respect native rights as first occupiers of the land.

Alwesane Notes

On eve of first national elections

Corruption and repression in Bangladesh

[The following article was written before the March 7 elections in Bangladesh. Incomplete returns as of March 9 gave the Awami League 290 of the 300 seats in parliament.]

By Jon Rothschild

On March 7, about one year and three months after the defeat of the Pakistani army of occupation, Bangladesh will hold its first national elections. Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman's Awami League is a shoo-in. In fact, it is not impossible that the Awami League will sweep nearly every seat in the National Assembly.

Leaders of the League have claimed that their impending victory is a result of the charismatic presence of the prime minister and the fact that the opposition has been unable to arouse the interest, let alone the support, of the people. Mujib's personal popularity is no doubt a real factor. But given the abysmal condition of the country and the virtually complete failure of the Awami League even to begin to deal with the post-independence problems of reconstruction and development, the real explanation for the Awami League's hegemony must be sought in the tactics it has used to maintain its grip.

Chief among these are fraud, graft, black-marketeering, and careerism. Alone these are insufficient. When challenged, the Awami League resorts to gangsterism and terror.

When Awami League Took Over

When the Pakistani army surrendered in December 1971, the prime task facing the new Bangladesh regime was economic reconstruction. Yahya Khan's army had killed at least a million Bengalis during the nine-month war of independence. The rice crop had been destroyed, and hardly a bridge in the entire country remained standing. The major ports were immobilized by the large number of ships that had been sunk or disabled during the war.

The huge rural population is concentrated in innumerable small and medium-sized villages, separated only by short distances, but cut off by the rivers and therefore isolated from one another to a greater extent than the distances would imply.

The combination of the destruction of crops and the lack of water-transportation links connecting the villages with each other and the cities with the countryside therefore threatened a severe famine.

On the other hand, the very backwardness of the country could have provided a revolutionary regime with certain advantages in beginning to deal with agrarian and administrative problems. The soil is extremely fertile, and the Bengali peasantry has always displayed great resourcefulness in overcoming natural obstacles. Agriculture is far more resilient than industry in recovering from physical destruction.

Furthermore, the Bengali peasantry had just gone through one of the most intense political struggles of the colonial world. It was armed, organized, mobilized, and — most important — prepared to extend the revolutionary mobilization against foreign occupation to a revolutionary struggle to transform the social relations that have imprisoned Bengal in its backwardness.

There was one further advantage. Pakistani domination had blocked the development of an East Bengali bourgeoisie. The bulk of what industry existed was foreign-owned. So the prospects for extending the revolution, for erecting the dictatorship of the proletariat (supported by the huge militant peasantry) on the ruins of the old state apparatus, smashed completely during the war of independence, seemed open-ended.

What was lacking was a revolutionary leadership. During the war, the Mukti Bahini (Liberation Forces) had been led mostly by former officers in the Bengali divisions of the Pakistani army. Political control rested in the hands of the Awami League, which under Pakistani rule had been a petty-bourgeois opposition party. When the middle-class politicians of the Awami League found themselves at the head of the new government, they acted in accordance with the character, morals, and aspirations of their class. And as was pointed out long ago, there is nothing more repulsive than a petty bourgeois engaged in primitive accumulation.

Thievery in the Countryside

One of the Awami League government's first moves was to enact an "agrarian reform." It was aimed at stabilizing social relations in the countryside and at demoralizing the peasantry. It has been the government's greatest success.

In an article marking the first anniversary of the end of the war of independence of Bangladesh, published in the December issue of the French monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Nayan Chanda described the "pessimism in the countryside":

"The only measures taken up to now in this area have been to abolish land taxes on holdings less than 25 bighas [about 3.2 hectares, or just under 8 acres] and to limit individual family holdings to 100 bighas [about 32 acres]. Neither of these measures seems to have transformed the country's agrarian system, still marked by absentee landlordism and extensive *metayage* [a system whereby the peasant pays rent in kind]."

Chanda quoted one peasant in the Mymensingh district (north of Dacca):

"What's it to us that the maximum holdings are 100 bighas? We still have to work just like before in the burning sun, in the mud, and under the monsoon rains to fill the storehouses of our landlords. We still have to pay 100 percent interest on the loans we're forced to draw from the maha-

jan [usurer]."

Questioned about the apparent contradiction between the peasants' situation and the economic plans of a government that claims to be socialist, an Awami League official told Chanda that the regime had not yet had time to "study the problem."

But there must have been some study. The government has produced a plan for rural development during 1972-73. It deals exclusively with technical matters, insecticides, distribution of aid, and so forth. It does not mention the problem of the debts the peasants owe the usurers.

One reason for this may be that the usurer is now likely to be a member of the Awami League. Another may be the fact that distribution of technical aid to the countryside is an important source of raw materials for the flourishing black market, which in turn is controlled by enterprising Awami League accumulators.

The famine in the countryside, it should be noted, is entirely man-made. Phani Bhusan Majumdar, the minister of food, had estimated that Bangladesh's grain needs for 1972 would total about 11.5 million tons. National production was reported as 10.2 million tons. Even allowing for inflated figures, the deficit is not unbearable, and was theoretically made up by aid from India and the United States.

The real explanation for the famine, Chanda noted, is not even so much the domestic black market, although that certainly does not help, but smuggling. This goes on, on a massive scale, in the provinces near

the Indian border.

According to Chanda, the major part of this trade is carried out by members of the constituent assembly — or at least with their knowledge. (They are compensated for not noticing.) This has now reached the point where even the pro-Moscow Communist party, which has supported the Rahman regime, says that the population regards membership in the constituent assembly and personal corruption as synonymous.

The Commercial Ripoff

Corruption and scandal are not restricted to the countryside. In March 1972 the government passed a series of measures nationalizing some enterprises (excluding foreign companies and tea estates). Foreign trade was placed under government control, specifically under the control of an outfit called the Trading Corporation of Bangladesh (TCB). The TCB vies with the constituent assembly in the corruption derby.

Light industry has also seen its share of graft and corruption. Most of the plants nationalized in 1972 by the Rahman government were formerly owned by Pakistani capitalists. They were placed under the control of government officials, members of the Awami League who used that control to enrich themselves.

The Bangladesh Small Industries Corporation, for example, was supposed to distribute cotton thread to weavers. Instead, the thread was sold to profiteers, who sold it to other profiteers. When it finally got to the weavers, its price had been inflated several-fold.

Similar trading goes on with import-export licences. The Awami League has sold these to speculators who in turn sell them to others. In some cases the licences are sold over and over again but are never actually used to import the commodities they were supposedly issued for.

When it is remembered how the state of Bangladesh came into existence — through a massive war during which as many as 100,000 Bengalis were armed and organized into the Mukti



A little more than a year ago Bangladesh was victorious in its independence struggle against Pakistan. But the new government was not extended to deal with the social problems facing the masses of Bengalis.

Bahini—it becomes immediately obvious that the Awami League regime could not survive solely through the force of Mujib's personality.

The first task taken up by the Rahman administration at the beginning of 1972 was disarming the masses. The second was creating a progovernment armed force. A related necessity was bringing the small but militant trade-union movement under state control. The regime has been notably more successful in these latter two tasks than it has been in the area of economic reconstruction. In the first one, success has been more spotty. But in the course of demoralizing the peasantry and isolating the left wing of the liberation struggle, the government has transformed those who refused to turn in their arms into street bandits.

Goon Squads for the Cities

When Rahman nationalized Bangladesh industry, he also abolished collective bargaining. Councils were set up to administer the confiscated enterprises. The workers have 40 percent representation on them. An official government declaration on the nationalizations stated in part that "the government believes that, just as it is necessary to achieve a growing participation by the workers in the management of nationalized industries, differences that arise must be resolved by consultations conducted in the management bureaus. Under these circumstances, collective bargaining will not be necessary for workers employed in industries nationalized or controlled by the government."

Most of the unions in Bangladesh denounced this move. (The pro-Moscow Bangladesh Trade Union Centre said the administration's policy on this question was "confused.") But the Jatiya Sramik League, the Awami League-dominated "union," supported it.

Since then, the government has followed a policy of bolstering the JSL at the expense of other unions. The JSL has been provided with a well-armed goon squad (called, of all things, the Lal Bahini, or Red Guards) that has used violence to elim-

inate its political opposition.

The mainstay of the Awami League's military forces is the Jatiya Rakshi Bahini (National Defense Forces). Armed with Indian rifles and trained by Indian officers, the JRB is supposedly a law-and-order outfit. In reality, it serves as an omnipresent paramilitary squad that takes over where the Lal Bahini leave off.

Violent attacks on antigovernment activists are a daily occurrence. Chandra quotes an example taken from a small article on the corner of page A of an issue of the *Bangladesh Observer*: "As the demonstration of members of the Chhatra League [an anti-government student organization] was passing through Rajgani [in the Comilla district], a passing jeep opened up with machine-gun fire. Ten demonstrators were seriously wounded."

The February 11 issue of *Holiday*, an English-language weekly published in Dacca, described an incident that occurred on February 4 at the R. R. Jute Mills in Barabkunda, near Chittagong.

"According to reports received here," a staff correspondent wrote, "... armed thugs surrounded the whole area [of the mills], posted guards at the exits and then launched their attack on the labour colonies. They set the kutchra [makeshift] structure of the workers on fire, and then, using their automatic weapons, started firing at the innocent workers. When the labourers, for safety but also out of fear, tried to flee from the mill area, the armed hirelings of the progovernment Jatiya Sramik League swooped on them."

Holiday reported that 200 workers were killed; 300 are missing.

And Now for an Election

The Awami League's gangster tactics have been applied to opposition candidates in the elections. The two largest anti-Awami League organizations are the National Awami party (B), the formerly pro-Peking group headed by Maulana Bhashani, and the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (National Socialist party).

The latter group originated in a split from the Chhandra League, which at one time was the pro-Awami League student organization. A. S. M. Abdur Rab and Shahjahan Siraj formed a left-wing faction in the Chhandra League. It was opposed by a "Mujibist" faction.

In July 1972 the two factions held rival conferences; both invited Rahman, who, naturally, went to the Mujibist conference. Soon after, the Rab-Siraj group united with Major Ahmed Jalil, one of the best-known Mukti Bahini commanders during the independence war; they formed the JSD.

The JSD appears now to be the most significant opposition group. It has grown rapidly among student leftists who are hostile to Maoism. When the March 7 election campaign began, the JSD announced that it would field 300 candidates. The NAP(B) said it would run 220 candidates.

But the Awami League has used a variety of gangster methods to discourage oppositionists from running.

On February 11, the JSD held a national day of protest against the government's repressive policies. A large rally was held in Dacca. "Speaking at the rally," the February 21 *Holiday* reported, "Rab alleged that the ruling party had resorted to gangster tactics everywhere to get through the elections and to scare the antiestablishment forces. He said that the election-eve happenings, including kidnap-

ping of opposition nominees and obtaining of signatures on withdrawal papers from some of those who filed their nomination papers at a number of places, showed what the government had up its sleeve. He forecast that as the elections came closer, things would be worse."

It is hard to see how much worse things could get. *Holiday* has reported a number of incidents in which opposition candidates were kidnapped before they could present their nomination papers. Some have been attacked while on their way to file. Opposition workers have been arrested



Mujibur Rahman

on various flimsy charges. And finally, the media, controlled almost exclusively by the Awami League, have given coverage only to the progovernment candidates.

The Awami League-inspired violent atmosphere has reached the point that even the offices of the National Awami party (Muzzafar), a pro-Moscow organization that has generally supported the government's policies, have been attacked and set on fire by mobs mobilized by Awami League goons.

In the absence of any well-organized revolutionary opposition, the population's response to Rahman's terror and to the dashing of their hopes for social change has tended to express itself in randomly directed violence.

Young people who fought in the Mukti Bahini during the independence war have found no jobs and have been cast onto the scrap heap by the economic policies of the regime. Surrounded by corruption and violence, and deprived of any means of livelihood, they have themselves turned to violence and robbery. *Der Spiegel* has reported that the streets of Dacca are virtually empty at night. People who visit friends and are unable to leave for home before dark stay overnight. Dacca is more violent today than it was during most of the war.

This state of affairs, created by the Awami League itself, serves the regime as an excuse for bolstering the Jatiya Rakshi Bahini, allegedly in the interests of preserving law and order. And it also provides the base for what may become a special form of Mujibist fascism.

The regime utilizes the masses of declassed lumpen elements to form the base of a repressive movement used to destroy all independent forms of popular organization, and specifically to smash the independent trade unions and the radical student movement. It is all done in the name of nationalism, socialism, secularism, and democracy, the four main watchwords of the Rahman regime. Having itself created disorder and lawlessness, the government

is now using that situation to tighten its grip by mass-based repression.

The people have on many occasions responded to the Awami League regime with some violence of their own. Lewis Simon reported in the December 18, 1972, *Washington Post* that 550 Awami League officials had been killed by outraged peasants "in the last few months."

But the Awami League regime will not be overthrown by unorganized violent outbursts, as justifiable as they may be. At this point there is little evidence that any of the opposition groups have been able to develop a comprehensive program that can mobilize and arm the people against the government.

The Awami League will therefore win its election. And most probably, Rahman will take advantage of that to announce that the people have spoken, and that the opposition is antinational. An intensification of repression may then be expected.

But the future of Bangladesh is far from decided. No matter how severe the Awami League's repression may become, the revolutionary will of the people who fought one of the most heroic mass armed struggles of colonial history will not be easily broken. And their problems will not be solved by Rahman. The question is, Will a leadership emerge to organize and mobilize that revolutionary will before the country is brought to a state of permanent, hopeless degradation by Awami League thieves? □

YOU ARE NOW ENTERING FREE DERRY

If you think you really know what's going on in Ireland today, you might try the following test:

- What were the main topics of discussion at the recent convention of the Official Republican movement?

- What are the major differences between the Officials and the Provisionals today?

- What is the strength of the Republicans, and the nationalist population, in the North today?

- Insofar as their political outlook is concerned, what important changes have occurred in the Official ranks?

If you were able to answer these questions correctly, you probably read the *United Irishman*, *An Phoblacht*, the *Starry Plough*, the *Irish Times*, and several Gaelic-language monthlies. Either that, or you read *Intercontinental Press*.

If you flunked the test, we'd like to suggest a subscription to *Intercontinental Press*. It's the only American weekly that consistently covers movements like the struggle to free Ireland. Besides news analysis and interviews, *Intercontinental Press* regularly publishes the documents of the struggle itself. Send \$7.50 for six months.

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against Pakistan. But the revolution

Background to the fight for liberation of Eritrea

By Tony Thomas

One of the central aspects of the struggle to liberate the African continent is the struggle for the liberation of oppressed nationalities within the various "independent" African states. The struggle of the Eritrean people against the Ethiopian regime is one of these struggles.

At the end of last year I was able to obtain this interview with Nushai, an Eritrean activist in Sweden, outlining the basic facts of the Eritrean struggle.

Q. How did the Eritrean people come to be ruled by the Ethiopians?

A. Eritreans were colonized by the Italians for about 60 years before World War II. During World War II, when the Italians lost, Eritrea was given to the British. When it came time to free the ex-colonies of the Italians, Eritrea was denied independence because of its strategic location on the Red Sea.

The United States proposed the unification of Eritrea with Ethiopia, which was the only alternative offered our people. This was passed by the United Nations in 1950 and put into practice in 1952.

In the original agreement Eritrea was allowed a large measure of autonomy within a federation with Ethiopia. However, Ethiopia didn't obey the agreement, and in 1958 it lowered the Eritrean flag, ending whatever autonomy existed. From this time people began to realize that the gradual colonization of Eritrea by Ethiopia would take place.

There were peaceful means of protesting against the Ethiopians at that time and until 1962, when the complete annexation of Eritrea took place. After that, we lost every peaceful means of protest, and the only recourse was armed struggle.

Q. Could you describe the forms of national oppression the Eritreans face?

A. Unilaterally they ended our autonomous rights and merged us into Ethiopia. They forbade the speaking and writing of the two native languages of Eritrea, Tigrinya and Arabic. All democratic institutions, organizations, and newspapers were forbidden.

They didn't want any modernization of any factories. All the development was to take place in Ethiopia. They want to drive all of our people out of Eritrea and into Ethiopia.

They want a complete assimilation of our people, and they want to crush any sentiments of nationalism by economic, cultural, political, and military pressure.

Q. What was the principle movement opposing these measures?

A. The secret opposition before the initiation of armed struggle was the Eritrean Liberation Movement, which was formed in 1958. Today the organization that is leading the armed struggle is the Eritrean Liberation Front. Its political aim at the present is to regain the lost independence of Eritrea. In the long run we are preparing for the socialist order.

Q. What has been the reaction of the Ethiopian regime to the struggle of the ELF?



A. The Ethiopian regime learned from Israel and the U.S. What the Ethiopian troops are practicing against the innocent Eritrean people are the same things the Americans are practicing in Vietnam. There is a scorched-earth policy that has been used since the beginnings of the struggle: bombing villages, poisoning wells, destroying farms.

They don't want the peasants to do their farming for the reason that the peasants are helping the freedom fighters. They don't differentiate between old people, children, crippled people—sometimes they will just clean out whatever they find in their way—villages, people, animals.

They're trying to drive us out of our homeland. According to United Nations statistics, there are more than 80,000 Eritrean refugees in Sudan alone.

Q. What role has the U.S. and other imperialist powers played in all of this?

A. The weaponry and financial aid of the U.S. enabled Ethiopia to launch this war. The feudal regime of Emperor Haile Selassie shares the U.S.'s interest in keeping the Red Sea under their control. Also the U.S. has a base called Kagnaw Field, which is used not only against us but against other African liberation groups.

The Israeli regime is training the Ethiopian counterinsurgency forces. Israeli "advisers" are always with the Ethiopian troops in their operations against the freedom fighters. Three Israelis have been killed.

Q. What about opportunities for support from Sudan, where there are so many refugees?

A. For a long time there hasn't been any government help from anywhere, although we have always had the sympathy of the people of Sudan. Because Selassie intervened in the solution of the civil war in Sudan last year, the Sudanese regime is in his debt. The Sudanese have to pay the price by forbidding the ELF from carrying out actions in Sudan.

Today all of our offices there are closed, and many militants have been told to leave the country. There is no possibility for us to work openly in Sudan.

And as for the OAU [Organization of African Unity], it completely supports the Ethiopian regime, which is one of its main forces. But we are determined to fight until victory and win the sympathy of the peoples of Africa. □

World news notes

S. African students fight repression

Students in every major city in South Africa planned a nationwide series of mass meetings and marches the second week of March. The actions are to protest government "banning" orders against 16 leaders of the National Union of South African Students (the organization of white, English-speaking students) and of the South African Students Organization (the organization of Black students).

The government bans, issued under the Suppression of Communism Act, stemmed from last year's mass student protests against racial discrimination in education. The bans prohibit the students from traveling, attending meetings, speaking publicly, being quoted in any publication, or contacting each other. At least three of the Black student leaders have been placed under house arrest.

The government's actions have caused a turmoil of debate among intellectuals and within the main opposition party, the United Party. Andre Brink, regarded as one of the country's leading writers, suggested that Prime Minister Vorster might take a lesson from Charles de Gaulle, who tried to crack down on students in France in 1968 and fell from power a year later.

Vorster took the unusual step of sending Brink a personal letter in reply. The letter attacked Brink's conciliatory view of the student struggles, labeled Brink a "pink liberal," and ended by wishing him a good night's rest "in spite of the curlers in your hair."

'Proletarianization' of Soviet CP

This year all Communist party members in the Soviet Union have to turn in their party membership cards, and only those who are considered servile enough will receive new ones. The new cards have Lenin's picture on them, with the slogan "the party is the wisdom, honor and conscience of this epoch." But if Lenin could see the type of party that exists in the Soviet Union, masquerading as a communist party, he would be horrified to say the least.

Through the purge the CP officials say they hope to restore the "proletarian" character of the party and combat "inertia and indifference" among party members. According to the March 4 *Los Angeles Times*, the CP leadership "hopes to brush up the image of the party, which enjoys immense privileges along with complete political power but which has lost standing with important elements of society."

In 1971 Leonid Brezhnev reported to the twenty-fourth party congress that only 40 percent of CP members were workers (and that includes functionaries of worker backgrounds). Fifteen percent were farmers, and 45 percent white-collar professionals and administrators. Women constitute only 20 percent of the party, although they make up more than half of the work force.

Not only are the Soviet CP bureaucrats attempting to "clean up" their own party; they are also seeing to it that the same standards are kept up in other workers states—Czechoslovakia, for example. At the end of last month Brezhnev went to Prague to receive the Order of the White Lion, first class, which is the highest decoration in Czechoslovakia. Brezhnev expressed satisfaction with the "consolidation" of control by the Czechoslovak CP since the Prague Spring in 1968. The Soviet bureaucrats don't consider it "consolidated" enough, however, to withdraw the 70,000 Soviet troops still occupying Czechoslovakia.

Peking lauds Iranian dictatorship



Shahbanou Farah Pahlavi of Iran arrives September 18 in Peking on a state visit. She is accorded a warm welcome. Meeting her at the airport are Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and Comrade Lin Chao-mei, Vice-Chairman Kuo Mo-jao of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Comrade Yu Li-chun, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei and Comrade Hsu Han-ping, and Chairman Wu Teh of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. Premier Chou En-lai shakes hands with Shahbanou Farah Pahlavi.

Distinguished Guests from Iran

The above picture, caption, and title are from a recent issue of *China Pictorial*, a publication of the Chinese government. The article that accompanies the photograph has only praise for the murderous regime of the shah of Iran, never mentioning the terrible poverty, repression, and torture that this so-called distinguished monarchy inflicts on the masses of Iranians.